PANDIT DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION PART - III PO

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PANDIT DEENDAYAL UPADHYAYA
IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

PART III

POLITICAL THOUGHT

B. K. Kelkar

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya
Ideology And Perception

PART - III : Political Thought

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Author's Note

The present work is a study of the political life and thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. It is not a chronology of events following his entry in Politics. The establishment of *Jana Sangh* was an important event in the history of Bharatiya politics. *Jana Sangh* gave concrete shape to an independent line of political thinking and an independent philosophical approach. During the 26 years period from 1951 to 1977, it became stabilised as a political party. The creator of all this was Pandit Deendayalji. The entire political history of this period needs to be properly recorded. Whenever such a history is written, it would further raise the political stature of Pandit Deendayalji. The present book can form the outline of such a venture. It is with this thought that this work has been included in the series dealing with Deendayalji's thinking.

A biographical work has to be based on original sources of information about the life of the person concerned. For writing this volume of the series, the source material was not available. Material contained in the records of the *Jana Sangh* party, correspondence of Pt. Deendayalji in the capacity of the General Secretary of *Jana Sangh*, published papers, collection of his speeches before the workers and reminiscences of his friends and co-workers and similar other reference material was needed for the compilation of this work. But due to the Emergency in 1975 everything got scattered. *Jana Sangh* leaders were imprisoned, raids were conducted, diaries and correspondence were confiscated by the police and consequently, the material that was finally available was like the goods that are salvaged after an earthquake. As such, no ready-made reference material was available for the compilation of this work. It was only on the basis of the files of the back numbers of 'Organiser' and 'Panchajanya' relating to the period from 1947 to 1968 that the past story was reconstructed. We also met the co-workers and friends of Deendayalji. The Deendayal Research Institute also made available some material which we had the occasion to study. Apart from this, all the publications of *Jana Sangh*, including published books, have also been utilised as reference material in the present book.

We also had discussions with leaders of the RSS like respected Shri Bala Saheb Deoras, Prof. Rajendra Singh, Shri Dattopant Thengadi, Shri Bhau Rao Deoras and Shri Bapu Rao Moghe. Apart from this, Shri Nanaji Deshmukh, Shri Lal Krishna Advani, Shri Balraj Madhok, Shri Vaidya Guru Dutta, Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari, Shri Vasant Rao Oak, Shri Jagadish Prasad Mathur, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, late Shri Ram Das Kalaskar etc., who were connected with *Jana Sangh*, gave us information about the political achievements of Deendayalji on the basis of their experiences. Shri K. R. Malkani, Shri Vishwa Nath Limaye, Shri Tiwari, who remained in direct contact with him, related their reminiscences about him. Shri Bapu Rao Lele, Shri Chaman Lal, Shri Bhanu Pratap Shukla, Shri Mahesh Chandra Sharma and others made the required reference material available. The cooperation given by the Deendayal Research Institute was invaluable. Shri Nanaji Deshmukh was also very helpful in this regard. Shri Devendra Swarup and the librarian Shri Janardanan personally helped in making the reference material available. The editor of Organiser Shri V. P. Bhatia and the editor of Panchjanya Shri Prabal Maitra, gave us the old issues of their journals and in this manner they put at our disposal a whole encyclopaedia of information. I give my heartfelt thanks to all of them. I am indebted to Shri Dattopant Thengadi for his guidance. Meeting all these people and talking to them was of invaluable help in understanding the thinking and personality of Pt. Deendayalji and a task which appeared to be very difficult in the beginning, became much easier.

I am also grateful to Shri V.V. Nene, the coordinator-editor of this series for the opportunity provided by him for a study of the political thinking of Pt. Deendayalji.

-B.K. Kelkar

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The Seed of Sangh Thought

After Independence, nature of politics in India underwent a change. For 25 years during the struggle for freedom, leaders and followers of different political ideologies had gathered together under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Many of them had opposed Mahatma Gandhi and had tried to propagate their own views and establish their own leadership. Among them were Manavendra Roy, Subhash Chandra Bose and Veer Savarkar. The Indian struggle for freedom took a revolutionary turn after the 1942 movement. This was followed by rapid changes in the political scene. The country was partitioned. Partition created several problems. The native States were merged into the Indian Union. The British transferred power to the Congress Party as its successor for the transition period. This led to a growing tendency in the Congress Party to stick to power and to concentrate all power in its own hands. Before independence the Indian leaders used to simplify our problems of poverty, unemployment and *Hindu-Muslim* animosity etc. by arguing that the root cause of the problems was British rule. This was, no doubt, true but not wholly true. In fact, at that time, the only test of our patriotism was loud and vocal opposition to the British. As a result, our political leadership had acquired a queer character. However, after the British left, the politics that emerged brought into fore political parties and leaders who had given thought to the problems of reconstruction and to attempts at nation-building and who had their own plans for these matters.

The Indian Constitution came into force in 1950 and the first general elections under the Constitution were held in 1952. The political leadership that emerged in the two year period of 1950-52 entered the political arena as rivals of the Congress Party. During the freedom struggle, there were 3 main and independent non-Congress ideologies which were represented mainly by the Communists, Comrade Roy and Veer Savarkar. The Socialist Party, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* were among those parties which were formed and had their own independent concepts about rebuilding independent India. *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* was born in 1951. The story of its birth has been related in the next chapter.

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya entered politics in 1951 as the Organising Secretary of *Jana Sangh* in UP In 1968 he became president of *Jana Sangh*. During the 17 year period of 1951-68, he helped *Jana Sangh* to stand on its own feet. His political life and work of those 17 years is the subject matter of this book. He was a worker of the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sang*h from 1938 to 1951. Before joining *Jana Sangh*, he was the Sah-Prant Pracharak (Joint Propaganda Secretary) of RSS in Uttar Pradesh. His personality was shaped and his thinking was moulded by RSS. Therefore, while making a study of his political work and leadership, it will be worthwhile to understand as to how Pandit Deendayalji represented the basic ideology of RSS, what were his own political perceptions as a volunteer of RSS and what were the political perceptions of Shri Guruji, the then Sarsanghchalak of RSS. As the early thinking and personality of Deendayalji was shaped by RSS, the texture of his leadership was different from that of others; his thinking process and political reflexes were also different from those of other political leaders.

In other words, it can be said that by inducting Deendayalji into the political arena, the RSS had experimented to find out as to how the leadership and personality of a person, shaped in RSS mould, would develop in the world outside the RSS and what new dimensions would it acquire. For this reason, Deendayalji entered politics as seeker after truth and as a creative thinker and not as a seeker after power. His goal and his role were well defined.

Sangh also wants Change

After the struggle for independence was over, politics in India went through a process of democratisation. As a worker of RSS, Deendayalji had expressed his views about this change in the political situation of the country. These views give us inkling into the mental background of the political role played by him subsequently. Before the formation of the *Jana Sangh* Party, Deendayalji had propounded his views on 'independence as only a means and not an end' and 'tasks before us after independence' in a speech delivered at Meerut as a Sah-prant Pracharak for Uttar Pradesh. He had said, "A charge has been repeatedly made that the Sangh is obscurantist or reactionary. Every one knows that though the world is constantly undergoing a change, some eternal things remain unaffected by these changes. We also want reconstruction but we do not want to sacrifice our eternal values for such a reconstruction. We wish to live with honour as long as we live. We are prepared to accept all such changes which also bring about a development of the eternal values of life. Side by side, we also want to make known our own identity. For the preservation and refinement of our identity we shall bring about all modern changes which are necessary. We are prepared to accept all changes that are essential for our development in the field of knowledge, science and culture. Even as our body accepts several foreign substances for its nourishment, so we shall accept, according to our requirements, even foreign things. Though the skin of our body is constantly changing, but the change is not artificial or unnatural; it is not desirable to effect changes in our body merely out of fancy for novelty. In the same way, it will be fatal to give up our eternal values simply out of our longing for something new. We shall not do this because it will ruin our life. We are not opposed to change. We do not want to preserve outdated traditions simply out of any pride for every thing old, just as we do not try to preserve the dead bodies of our forefathers but cremate them and throw their ashes into the rivers. "However, many alien ideologies have gained currency in our country simply because of our fascination for novelty. This is a harmful tendency. We are not opposed to these ideologies merely because they are foreign. We can learn many a thing for bettering our lives through love, cooperation and goodwill." (*Panchajanya*). The sum and substance is that even while Deendayalji was in the RSS, he had come to firmly believe that we shall have to bring about changes in India so that India can survive in the modern world but that such changes should be made while preserving the original character of our country.

Cultural Freedom Essential

Shri Deendayalji had defined the role that Sangh would play after India achieved independence. His speech on this subject was published in the Bhadrapad Krishna 9, 2006 (August-September, 1949) issue of *Panchajanya*. In this speech he had said that every nation had its own individuality and some special features for the development of which freedom was essential. He had further said, "On 15th August, 1947 we have won a war. We needed independence to remove the obstacles in the path of our development. Now the path has been cleared for our self-realisation. Now we have to help in the effort for human progress. Our soul had rebelled against foreign rule not because our rulers were British but because the foreign outlook and British customs were getting entrenched in our daily lives. This was vitiating the whole atmosphere. We are happy that after the departure of the British we are now ruled by people who are our own flesh and blood. But now we expect the rulers to share the same emotions and aspirations of the society which has nurtured them. They should try to adopt a system which is suited to our society and which is in consonance with its nature and characteristics. If this does not come about then the struggle for freedom will have to be regarded as incomplete.

We need economic, social, cultural as well as spiritual freedom. Freedom must include self-realisation, for; culture pervades every facet of our national life just as life pulsates in our entire body. Man's culture is reflected in his constructive view of life while conquering the high peaks and deep pits of difficulties and hindrances coming in the way of life. Culture is not something static. It is always in motion just like the flow of a river. With this fluidity some characteristics are associated. These characteristics of his cultural thought find expression in all literature, art, philosophy and social history. If we have acquired freedom, this flow of our culture must restart. Patriotism is also born out of culture and it is culture which transcends national boundaries and binds a nation with the rest of humanity. Therefore, cultural freedom is most important. Without this, our freedom will be meaningless and it will not last." (*Panchajanya*, Bhadrapad, Krishna 9, Samvat 2006).

Unrestricted Individual Freedom and Dictatorship

From the platform of RSS, Deendayalji had also stated, "Socialism and free economy both give birth to dictatorship." He had said, "An ideology was developed in the West on the premise that every person should work according to his capacity and he should get wealth according to his needs. But this ideology also led to the emergence of a dictatorship, the reason being that the principles adopted in this ideology are against human nature. By nature, a man wants to work less and earn more. Therefore, in this system, human wants are reduced by dictatorial methods. As against this, Indian philosophy favours control over desires by voluntary effort. A *Sannyasi*, who has very few needs and works hard for the welfare of the society, earns greater respect. Likewise, in an Indian family, the head of the family reduces his needs to the minimum but he is the most honoured member of the family. We must certainly fulfil our needs but we will not become slaves to them."

"In substance, mere individualism makes us slaves of capitalists and mere socialism destroys the individuality of men. India needs a synthesis of these two ideologies. This is what will be in accordance with Indian thought. In this way we shall be able to bring to fruition our enthusiasm for reconstruction, while preserving our eternal values and also protect ourselves from un-Indian elements."

(*Panchajanya*, Ashwin, Krishna 9, Samvat 2007)

From the above quotations it will be clear that even before directly entering politics, Pandit Deendayalji held definite views on rebuilding India after independence. These views were born out of the RSS ideology.

The Under-current of *Hindu* Thought

The entire political and social thinking of Pandit Deendayal ji was founded on *Hindu* thought. He was influenced by this thought while he was in RSS. In fact, his national outlook was born out of RSS ideology. In his last discourse in Delhi he had analysed nationalism. During the discourse, Shri Guruji was also present. In his anaylsis of *Hindu* nationalism, Pandit Deendayal had said, "Every thing must have its own focal point. Today it is like being in a situation where we have learning as well as intellect and also possess physical strength but there is no central principle for which all these are to be used. That is our condition. No one knows what the focal point of our life is. What is it that binds us together? Every country has such a binding factor. This focal point is the nation. In our country, however, individual has been made focal point and not the nation. This has upset everything. People have become inclined to individualistic thinking. It is stated that we have to bring about economic development, but whose development do we want? Is it the development of the individual? Surely, that is why we think of raising the living standard of the individual. But no one has suggested that the standard of living of the individual will automatically rise with the raising of the national standard of living.

"Today, what is needed is that we identify the objective or goal of our life. When once this is identified, all people will automatically start moving in that direction. The ways to achieve this goal may differ. However, what is most important is the faith that this country belongs to us, this nation belongs to us. Once it is decided that our goal is to reach the temple in which our god-the nation-is enshrined, then all things necessary for it can be adjusted to cooperate.

"What is a nation? Do the rivers and mountains alone constitute *Bharat*? When we talk of India, we think of the Indian society. But when we say, let us think of our nation then we are guided by some inner feelings. The same inner feelings had filled us with zeal to fight against the British. After the British left, we were left to shoulder the burden of running the State. But no one, at that time, gave a serious thought to the question, 'who are we'. After the British left, we ourselves became the rulers. But whom do we refer to when we say, it is 'our rule'? Can we identify the family-tree of this country? Who constituted the life of this nation? Here, we shall have to concede that our nationality is none other than *Hindu* nationality. If any outsider comes into this country he shall have to move in step and adjust himself with *Hindu* nationality. It shall have to be decided as to what should be the basic criterion of this exercise.

Then only shall we be able to decide whether a person's nationalism is on the plus or minus side. It is like measuring our body temperature with a thermometer. The thermometer has a mark indicating normal temperature. It is with reference to this mark that we say whether the temperature is high or low. In the same way, *Hindu* nationality is the standard here. Everyone knows this, whether anybody says it in so many words or not, that our nation hinges on *Hindu* nationality. This is the unifying force here since ancient times."

Dharma

The political thinking of Deendayalji is dominated by *Dharma* and morality as much as it was dominated by nationalism. It was his faith that *Bharat* is predominantly *Dharma*-oriented country. In his speeches before RSS-Swayamsevaks, he had stated that *dharma* is the life and soul of *Bharat*. In a meeting organised by RSS at Aligarh, Deendayalji had said, "By declaring *Bharat* as secular nation, the soul of *Bharat* has been attacked. A secular State is full of woes. Although Ravana's *Dharma*less State of Lanka had plenty of gold, but had no Rama *Rajya* (*Rajya*= State) in it."

While discoursing on *dharma*, Deendayalji used to say that *dharma* did not mean religion. While explaining *dharma* in a simple way he had said, "*Dharma* is not there in confrontation but in understanding. *Dharma* teaches us that each of us is related to the other not on the basis of similar self-interest, but through the oneness of soul. In Maha*bharat*, *dharma* and a*dharma* have been defined in simple terms. The feeling denoted by 'mine' (मम) is a*dharma* and the one denoting 'not mine' (न मम) is *dharma*. The feeling 'nothing belongs to me, everything belongs to thee', denotes *dharma* and the feeling "everything belongs to me' denotes a*dharma*. The latter results in the feeling that society exists for him-he himself is the focal point. But if we wish to make the world happy, we shall have to go by the feeling 'not mine' (न मम). We shall have to bring about a balanced harmony between the freedom of the individual and the good of the society. Freedom of the individual must, no doubt, be there and should not be restricted. But it would be wrong if such freedom is used by a person to serve his own interest only. A person should live not only for himself but also for the society as a whole. Only then he will be able to serve the society."

For the Glory brought by *Hindu Dharma*

In a discourse before RSS-Swayamsevaks in Rajasthan (June, 1965), Deendayalji had discussed the question, 'Why *Hindu* organisation'. He said, "RSS prayer refers to the goal of restoring the supreme glory of the nation. This means that we shall do everything that is necessary and everything that is found to be useful, to bring back that glory. And the prayer also says that we shall achieve this by following *dharma*. Then what exactly is the task before RSS? Whether this task is 'organisation' or 'bringing glory to the nation'? or protection of *dharma*? In fact, all these things are allied. For light we need both bulb and electricity.

The same way, we pray God's blessing so that our organised strength should, by following our *Dharma*, bring supreme glory to our nation. This one sentence expresses all."

RSS believes that all Souls are One

"When someone asks me, 'Are you an individualist or a socialist?' I always say, 'We think of both'. We believe in taking a whole view of things, in the one-ness of the soul and in organisation. We believe that a single soul fills all things and activates them. By organising Hindus we mean infusing in their minds a feeling of one-ness and aspirations of Integral life." (Speech delivered at Udaipur on 5th June, 1964 in RSS OTC.

Individual and Society

In the ideology of RSS it has been stressed that there should be an inter-relation between individual and society and that the individual should have a commitment towards society. Deendayalji used to say that the role of RSS lies in protecting the individuality of a person and at the same time dedicating it to the good of the society. Even in the midst of individualistic politics, the selfless leadership of Deendayalji developed because of this background provided by the RSS. Hence the importance of his views in this regard. He used to say, "A man's personality is an amalgam of body, mind, intellect and soul. Happiness of the individual means happiness with reference to these constituents of his personality. If we think of only one of these attributes in exclusion of the rest then our thinking will not be perfect. We even take into consideration, the previous incarnation. When we think of the happiness of an individual, we do take into consideration these four constituents of his individuality. In the same way we would include these four constituents when we think of the happiness of society. The happiness of the individual from his very birth depends on the happiness of the society."

The relationship between individual and society first comes into play in the field of education. No doubt, it is the mother who first teaches the child to speak but the language that she teaches is the language of the society and not only her language. All the samskaras are acquired by the individual from the society and it is society which resents or praises him. Secondly, happiness and sorrow are not feelings merely personal but also collective. The individual should learn to think of collective happiness and collective sorrow because our economic, political, spiritual and moral advancement depends on society. Even God's incarnations are for people's good. Although there were great many warriors in the Kaurava army yet they were there as separate individuals; they were not a collective entity. On the other hand, Pandavas were united. They had chosen Shri Krishna as their leader. They believed in collectivism. Collectivism is *Dharma*. Likewise, nationalism is also *Dharma*. Everything done for the sake of society is consonant with *Dharma*. A soldier kills men in a war and yet he is awarded the Param Veer Chakra for this act. But if someone else kills a man in ordinary life, he is bound to be hanged. The difference between the acts of the two persons is that one is performed for the nation while the other is performed in personal interest. We have a democratic system and, as such, we also have political parties. But these political parties exist for the sake of the nation. If we forget the nation then everything that we value will lose its importance. It is necessary for us to constantly cultivate the emotion of nationalism. Then only shall we be able to do our work for the nation.

Bharatiya and Western Ideologies

Bringing out the difference between the Indian and Western way of thinking, Pandit Deendayalji had stated that Indian thinking gives prominence to cooperation and to being complementary to one another. But the entire Western thinking is based on the idea of struggle. Competition is the basic element in their lives. All our social ideas are about the perfection of the individual. In the Western thought, importance is given to man's body; whereas in Indian thought, importance is given to the intellectual, mental and spiritual needs of man. There do arise conflicts between individuals and society. But such incidents are exceptions and not the rule. This is not *Dharma*; rather, this is a perversion.

Because of the very fact that conflict is the basis of their thinking, the Western thinkers were divided into two blocks. One of those two blocks gives importance to the individual above society's interest while the other believed that the interest of the individual is subservient to that of the society. The first group gives unbridled careless freedom to the individual, while the thinkers belonging to the latter group wholly repudiate the idea of individual freedom.

The life-style of the Western people is based on Darwin's theory of 'Survival of the fittest'. Conflicts arise out of selfishness. 'None trusts the other. Relations between individuals are based on mutuality of interests. The relation of the individual with society is also based on self-interest. The Western thinkers believe that a nation is constituted by people who have common self-interest.

Inspiration to Duty

In the West every individual endeavours to protect his or her own rights. Husbands and wives quarrel for their respective rights. Even though theirs are love-marriages, yet their married lives are full of confrontations. Indeed, where there is true love, confrontation is impossibility.

On the other hand, we in India are inspired by duties rather than by rights. We have laid stress on doing our duties. Consequently, in our society, the idea of service is predominant. That is why there is a feeling of social unity and a feeling of tolerance in our country and happy human life.

It is essential for every man to have a feeling of affinity for the community. By so doing, he does not loose his individuality which rather becomes extensive. If every man starts thinking that he is some one apart from the society then this is bound to lead to confrontation. According to the law of nature, the waters of the sea evaporate to form clouds which cause rain and the water goes back to the sea. This is what sustains the whole universe. Man's behaviour in relation to society should also be guided by a similar consideration so that our philosophy can be useful to world peace and human happiness.

The social thinking taught and inculcated in the RSS has been summed up in the above thought. It can be briefly described as 'Social Philosophy of the Individual'. Deendayalji was not only a commentator of this philosophy, but he was also a personification of the ideal contained therein. He practiced this ideal in his own life. It is for this reason that Shri Guruji honoured him by calling him the 'ideal volunteer'.

Abiding quality of Voluntary Service

Deendayalji had made known his conception of an RSS volunteer in his speech delivered on the subject. He said, "Ordinarily, we understand a volunteer to mean a person who works but does not ask for wages, or workers collected for a programme who cease to be volunteers soon after the programme is concluded. We have accepted the role of volunteers for rebuilding the society. We have taken upon ourselves a big task, the task of organising the society..

"When we call ourselves Hindus, what do we mean thereby? *Hindu* is the name of our life-style. Hence we are volunteers for life and not for a temporary period. Dr. Hedgewar created volunteers who dedicated their lives for the society. Our *Hindu*ness is our being volunteers. Our actions and dealings must be such that '*Hindu*' must stand for excellence."

(Deendayalji's speech in Nairobi, 1965)

An Ideal Volunteer

The Sar-Sanghchalak and the theoretician of RSS, Shri Guruji, during his 33 years tenure, gave guidelines as to the qualities that a volunteer should possess and what his style of work, his temperament and his motives should be. The views have been listed below, the intention being to have an authoritative concept of the qualities that an ideal volunteer ought to possess. The personality of Deendayalji was influenced by the ideology of RSS. In order to understand his personality and to evaluate the qualities possessed by him, it would be useful to know the views of Shri Guruji in this regard.

Purity of Character

"Just like a coin, our life has two sides. One of these two sides is our personal character, which should be pure. The other side pertains to nation and the society; it implies restriction of our self-interest and joyful bending of all efforts towards and be ready to offer every thing for serving the interest of the nation without caring for our personal inconvenience. This is what is called national character and forms the other side. A person can be considered good if both the sides of his character, like the two sides of a coin, are good. If one side of a rupee coin is worn, then even though the other side is good, it will still be considered a bad coin and will not buy us goods in the market. Any effort to pass on a bad coin will only land us in jail. Hence, our character, whether personal or in its dedication to the nation, must be perfect. Such a purity of mind will confer on us great courage and patience which will, in turn, greatly enhance our capacity to work."

(Shri Guruji 'Samagra Darshana, Vol. 5, p, 16)

National Service from Inner Inspiration

"We have before us a goal and the nature of our day to day work, performed to get the necessary strength for achieving that goal. These two express the idea underlying the word 'Sangh' and the word 'Swayamasevak' (volunteer) denotes the bond between them. Who will build up the power of the Sangh? Can this task be performed by hired people? No, they can never perform such a task. Only that person, who has unbounded love for his nation, who looks upon the society, *dharma*, culture and motherland as his and who is prepared to give for the nation everything that God has given him, shall be able to accomplish this task. He will do so, not at the binding of some one, nor under pressure, nor out of any temptation, nor because of other inspiration from extraneous cause. This he does due to the inner feeling of devotion to the Motherland.

"Real Swayamsevak has in his heart deep love for motherland, *Dharma*, nation and society and about the whole body of the nation. This love is the source of his inspiration. He works because of this inspiration and he intends to serve his nation in such a way that the whole world can see the organised and unassailable strength of his nation. Thus the Swayamsevak (Volunteer) undertakes his work denying much to himself but with willingness to give his all to the nation."

(Shri Guruji, Samagra Darshana Vol. 5, p. 11)

Land is my mother, I am her son

"The Indian society, which believes this land to be sacred, to be its father, its mother, its preceptor (Guru), to be the best and to be the foundation of the whole world, is like the son of this Motherland. Since Vedic times, the *Hindu* has been saying with pride, 'The land is my mother, I am her son'. If we make a survey of *Hindu* social life over the past several centuries, we shall find that *Hindu Dharma* is a universal *Dharma* which has accommodated in its folds several paths, big and small; and, a noble way of life, evolved by people with their hearts purified by *Dharma*, is known as our culture. This culture is common to us all. We all have a common history. There is a galaxy of people who are our guides right from great men Like Shri Rama Chandra to those great patriots of modern times who have lived life of sacrifice. We bow to this galaxy and draw inspiration from them in every field of life."

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol 5, p.6-7)

Life dedicated to Action

"While living our life from day to day, we must ponder over how much we feel concerned about our nation and how far we act out of that concern. If our heart is full of pure thoughts and we do not translate them into action then such thoughts are useless. In the same way, if we continue to act without giving thought to what we are doing then our act will be of no consequence. We should guard against these two calamities and plan our activities in life after proper thought. It is very necessary for us to ponder over whatever we do in our life and to see whether our activities are properly planned or not".

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 2-3)

Disciplined Life

"There are two types of discipline. The first is to faithfully and individually obey the orders that are given and the second is to obey the orders jointly and harmoniously where more than one person are required to carry out the orders. In other words, the first type of obedience is individual and the second is collective".

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 14)

"Systematism of inner self is the mental aspect of discipline. If we do not possess the mental capacity to ponder over whatever we are required to do and to concentrate all our powers thereon, we shall experience difficulties. If we possess such a quality then our body will not indulge in any improper act. For this purpose, it is very necessary that we deeply imbibe this quality, learn to be systematic and try to work with great concentration of mind and help others also to cultivate the same habit. Only then can our fame for discipline be justified and shall we feel satisfied".

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 16)

"After the completion of education, when the disciples become qualified to return from the home of the Guru (preceptor), the Guru gives them some advice and also some information. In one of the Upanishads, this advice and information have been termed 'Idam Anushasanam' (this is discipline). It has also been enjoined therein that one must practice *Dharma* as is laid down in principle and that one must never abandon whatever is based on truth, etc. Such basic principles have been enumerated therein. But the Upanishad does not contain any advice or commandment requiring the disciple to adopt a specific type of conduct. In this matter, there is no rigidity. The only thing suggested therein is that in every matter we should bear in mind the relevant guidelines laid down in the scriptures and if there is any problem we should seek guidance from the conduct of the great, selfless scholars purified by penance. No specific rules are laid down. The intellect is given free scope. This freedom combined in conformity with basic principles has been called discipline. In our thinking, discipline includes both the freedom of the individual and principled behaviour as well as the merging of the individual self in the collective entity."

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana: Vol. 4, p. 17)

Personality merged in Society

"It is essential for every person to be patriotic, devoid of egotism and virtuous and should develop the capacity to merge his personality in his society. It is not necessary for every one to be a soldier. One could be a soldier, a politician, a trader, a farmer or could do any other job and still possess all the virtues of a nationalist. What is necessary is that a person should bind himself to a flexible code of discipline and should so conduct himself as to prepare a favourable ground for his development in accordance with his individual talent, inclination and nature and, at the same time, to inculcate the virtue of merging his own individuality in the society. This is, indeed, discipline".

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 21)

Non-egotist Nature

"Sometimes, unconsciously, we cultivate in our minds a feeling of egotism which is destructive to our cause. Egotism is something very wicked. Sometimes our egotism is born from our belief that we are without egotism. Sant Jnyaneshwar has said, 'Egotism does not afflict the ignorant but sometimes takes hold of the minds of those who consider themselves learned and lands them into great difficulty'. Once arrogance enters our minds, it brings in its wake a host of other evils. There is no knowing when our mind will be taken possession of by arrogance. It will be a self-deception on our part to cultivate a false sense of self-assurance and satisfaction on being free from its influence. Therefore, we should concentrate our minds in efforts to be free of these evils. (Once egotism enters the mind, all bad qualities follow suit. It comes stealthily and so (falsely) poses as self-confidence. Hence in order to be free from these evils of the mind one has to be very alert.)"

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 48-49)

The Truly Wise Man

"That person is wise who is engaged in doing good to others. He, who does not see himself in others, who is not restless for the happiness of others, who does not strive for the sake of others and who does not suffer for the sake of others,, is not truly wise. These virtues permeate the very nature of our nation and constitute our 'ethics'. We should not consider that spiritual things must not meddle in worldly matters."

(Shri Guruji: Samagra Darshana, Vol. 4, p. 52)

"It is not proper to think that what is good for spirituality is not fit to be practiced in worldly life. For this reason we say that we should cultivate all those virtues in our daily life which have been based on principles laid down in our science. In this way we should join effort to generate a power in our society which is unalloyed, pure, dedicated to *Dharma* and is ever engaged in the service of the nation. For this we must very carefully mould our private lives".

(Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 52)

Qualities of a RSS Worker

In the Sangh, special importance is attached to the moulding of workers. The job of the Sangh is to inculcate virtues in ordinary people and develop in them the quality of leadership. In several meetings Shri Guruji had explained in an interesting manner, how to accomplish this task; he has said, "He, who is unattached, is not egoistic, is patient, is courageous and is full of aspirations and enthusiasm and who remains unperturbed by gain or loss or by success or failure in all endeavours, is known as a Satvik worker."

"Doing good work requires earning the confidence of the people; people will put faith in us only when our conduct is pure. Our personal life should be so unblemished that no one should even dream of suspecting us. There was a time when we had in our society the qualities of good character and conduct. Even today, in villages we can find examples of virtuous conduct."

(Ibid, Vol. 5, p. 53)

"The more we identify ourselves with our objective and we are conscious of it in all our activities, while awake or in sleep, our words will acquire greater power. We shall be able to influence those whom we talk to and make them readily do our bidding; people will readily accept any principles we state. If we are unable to convert anyone to our lines of thinking then it only means that we have fallen short in our penance and shall have to practice it with greater vigour. It should also mean that our concentration on our objective is-inadequate and requires to be strengthened. Instead of blaming others we should ponder over our own shortcomings."

(Ibid, Vo. 5, p. 22)

Sweet Speech and feeling by Love

"Our speech should be sweet. We should speak what is true and what is good but it should also be sweet. We should not speak the bitter truth. We should not boast of abrasive frankness of speech. We should, no doubt, speak frankly but in such a manner that it does not hurt the person spoken to and he pays heed to the truth."

"We have to reach the people who have not come in contact with us; we have to speak to them. We have to establish an earnest relationship with them based on sympathy and real love. We shall have to forge a feeling of oneness with them. We must remember that in our effort to contact people in society we shall not be able to adopt the proper type of behaviour towards different people if we have any shortcomings in us; we shall not be able to have a dialogue with them and our talk will have no effect on them. Hence our behaviour should be good and full of love. We shall have to adopt a life-style of always rendering help to others, of being ever ready to work for them. Then only we shall be able to find a place in the hearts of people and then only we shall be able to convince them about our ideology and obtain their cooperation in our task."

(Ibid, Vol. 5, p. 19-20)

The above quotations represent the ideal character of an individual that should develop under the influence of RSS. Deendayalji's personality developed on the lines of this very ideal. Prof. Harold Laski, the famous British Political Scientist, had said that 'the problem of democracy is the problem of good men'. The success of democracy depends on the goodness of the individual. Deendayalji came into politics from an organisation that is RSS, which aims at producing such good and dedicated individuals. Consequently, while organising the *Jana Sangh* Party, he was equipped with the required organisational ability, a clear vision of the principles and the skill of moulding workers.

The Frame of Concepts

The leadership of Shri Deendayalji was born from a totally different thought pattern and social inspiration. The evaluation and discussion of RSS ideology, from the point of view of political history, is not relevant here. That is the subject matter of separate study and research. However, before undertaking the study of the political life and personality of Deendayalji, the foregoing study has been made, by way of an example, to try to understand the basic ideology of RSS in as much as it formed the basis of inner inspiration for him. The RSS, on the one hand, shaped the lives and personalities of many an individual through its style of functioning and, on the other hand, it also gave shape to the thinking of the individuals.

The above analytical study has been made with a view to bringing out this fact. During the period between 1925 and 1950, the RSS ideology acquired a technical language and a social and national approach evolved. Deendayalji was a symbol of this ideology of RSS. His thoughts have been collected from the available reports of the theoretical discourses given by him in the RSS. In this study about Deendayalji, only the post-independence period is relevant. As such, his views relating to that period alone have been presented here. Reference to this conceptual frame and the influences and samskaras under which Deendayalji had come, has been made in so much as it is necessary to understand his personality and political life.

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Story of Birth of *Jana Sangh*

15th August, 1947 was a red letter day in *Bharat*'s history. But it was also a day of blood-shed. This was the day which brought boundless joy to the people of *Bharat* on their liberation from the shackles of British slavery. But with the joy was also mixed the grievous sorrow of partition of the motherland. Gandhiji was at Calcutta on the day when transfer of power took place. He expressed the feeling of the Indian people in his speech of 14-8-1947, "From tomorrow we shall be free from the slavery of British rule but partition of India is also to take place at midnight today. Therefore, tomorow will be the day of rejoicing as also a day of sorrow."

(Mahatma-D.G. Tendulkar, Vol. V, p. 14)

The British handed over the sovereign power of India to Congress as a representative successor. It was a historical inevitability. In fact, Congress was a movement which had been launched and carried on by patriots like Dadabhai-Nauroji, Lokmanaya Tilak, Lala Lajpatrai, Surendra Nath Banerji, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehruji, Patel, Subhash Chandra Bose and others. As soon as it acquired power, the Congress became a political party and in this way, a front, that had been set up for achieving freedom, turned itself into a political party. After acquiring political power, parties generally change their thinking even as individuals do. Political groups are formed around

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ideologies and around some powerful persons. They act as pressure groups. This is what happened to Congress. The spirit of sacrifice gave way to lust. Congress became an instrument of acquiring power. Gandhiji had anticipated such a change taking place in the Congress Party and had, therefore, advised its conversion into a public service organisation with the name 'Lok Sevak Sangh'.

Within the Congress Party itself, there were only two important personalities, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel. It was but natural that each of them had his own group as both differed from each other by nature. Nehru was particularly inspired by the liberalism of the West as well as by the Communist thought of Russia. His commitment to Gandhism was only sentimental. A well-known journalist had asked Gandhiji the reason for choosing Nehru as his successor to which Gandhi had replied, "He is the only Englishman on my side." (Durgadas: From Curzon to Nehru). The sarcasm in this remark is obvious. Nehru also has said the same thing about himself.* As against this, Sardar Patel was an iron man who respected the country's traditions and who was a hard working and skilled organiser. Nehru, as Prime Minister and Patel, as Deputy-Prime Minister, worked together and yet, internally, there was a struggle going on between them with each trying to bring Congress under his sway.

One of the points on which the two differed was about the policy being pursued in relation to the supporters of Hinduism. Nehru

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Mahadev Desai: "Intellectually you and Bapu have an affinity which exists between few others."

Jawahar Lai Nehru: "That is so. But I lack the religious outlook. And I have a strange aloofness in me. This is why I have always thought that I didn't feel at home in India. May be it is my education or upbringing but this is the result. Even when I am in crowds and work with people I can not get over my loneliness. So, very often I feel I can not stand British imperialism in India. But I hit off better with an Englishman than an Indian."

Mahadev Desai: "Bapu is nothing but Indian in his being and doings. And yet his outlook is so very modern. There are few who have assimilated the best of the West as much as Bapu has." (From Mainstream-22nd Annual Number, 1984) hated the very word '*Hindu*'. He had nothing but contempt for the supporters of Hinduism. But Patel was more liberal and considerate in this regard. On 6th June, 1948, in a public meeting held at Lucknow, Sardar Patel had extended an open invitation to RSS volunteers to join the Congress Party by saying, "They are patriots". In this meeting he had said, "Those in the Congress Party who wield power, hope to crush the RSS with this power but no organisation can be crushed by the use of power; the stick is meant to be used against thieves; RSS volunteers are not thieves or dacoits. They have love for the country. Only, their thinking is different. Congressmen should try to win over the RSS people through love." This was the view held by Sardar Patel about RSS. However, Nehru made full use of the opportunity to crush the RSS, which he got after the assassination of Gandhiji. A reference to this was made by Kaka Saheb Gadgil in an article in these words: "A meeting of governors was held in Delhi on the 31st January and 1st February, 1948 after the assasination of Gandhiji. Sardar Patel was present in the meeting. At his suggestion, I also attended the meeting. In this meeting it was suggested that a strong policy be adopted towards the *Hindu* Mahasabha and the RSS. The Cabinet met on the next day and the matter was discussed in this meeting. I gave my opinion to the effect that only the assassin and his accomplices should be dealt with sternly and that a ban on *Hindu* Mahasabha would create the general impression that we were acting out of political vengeance. Sardar Patel agreed that there was much substance in what I said." (Article by Kaka Saheb Gadgil-Lok Satta, Bombay, 8th June, 1960). Dr. Ambedkar was the Law Minister at that time. He involved Veer Savarkar in the Gandhi Murder Case on being pursuaded by Nehru. Shri L.B. Bhopatkar was informed of this in Delhi (Kal-Pune-22-6-83). From the above, it can be concluded that, whereas Nehru did not want the protagonists of *Hindu*ism to come anywhere near him, Sardar Patel wished to treat them with warmth. In the Congress Party, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, K.M. Munshi, Dr. Sampurnanand and others were supporters of Sardar Patel while leaders like Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai supported Nehru. Therefore while refering to Nehru, Sardar Patel used sarcastically to call him 'a nationalist Muslim within the Congress' while Gandhiji called him an 'Englishman'. Consequently, the struggle between Nehru and Sardar Patel was not merely a struggle between two personalities but a struggle between two points of views and between two tendencies. So the sympathy shown by Sardar Patel to the supporters of *Hindu*ism was not a strategy of group politics. Rather, it had a deep significance for the future of the country and marked a stage in the process of political polarisation.

Disturbances following Gandhi's Assassination

Gandhiji's assassination was an ideal political opportunity to wipe out the supporters of *Hindu*ism. It was made use of to ban RSS in 1948. Many things happened during the continuance of this ban. RSS offered Satyagraha and about 80 thousand volunteers of Sangh defied the ban and went to jail. The 'Committee for civic rights' was set up followed by efforts to organise public opinion for getting this ban on RSS lifted on grounds of citizens' freedom rights.

The ban on RSS was lifted in July, 1949 which followed talks and all efforts by RSS leaders to make the government understand the reality. Though, there was a general feeling of helplessness, yet, the RSS leaders did not lose their restraint. The common worker of RSS had not lost heart. During the ban, the senior leaders of RSS were engaged in deliberations. Shri K.R. Malkani contributed four articles to the November-December, 1950 issues of the weekly 'Organiser' under the pen-name 'Kamal', suggesting that RSS should enter politics. But even earlier the Congress Working Committee had opened the doors of the Congress Party to RSS volunteers by a resolution passed in October, 1949. With that, the 20 month old war on the RSS, which had been started by the Congress in January, 1948, had come to an end. The RSS never directly took part in politics. It was never opposed to Congress. Before the creation of RSS, its first Sarsanghchalak, Dr. Hedgewar was the Joint Secretary of the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee. He had taken part in the forest Satyagraha along with his batch. In the 1942 freedom struggle, RSS volunteers were among those who became martyrs at Chimur (Leading Article, Organiser, 11th October, 1949). However, after coming to power in 1947, the Congress Party had changed its attitude towards the RSS.

RSS and Congress

In the meanwhile, the resolution about the RSS, passed by the Congress Working Committee, created a lot of furore in the political field. The socialist leaders had a feeling that, being socialists, they could succeed to power after Nehru. Within the Congress itself, those who were opposed to RSS, were alarmed at the prospect of there being additional contestants for power. The reaction of communists was along expected lines. The resolution did not much enthuse the RSS volunteers. However, they had a feeling that it would lead to the evil propaganda against the RSS lose its edge and it would be possible with Congress cooperation to do some good social work. 'Organiser' stated that it was a victory of truth over falsehood and of moral power over armed might. (11-10-1949). The Congress resolution referred to above was passed in the absence of Nehru. Soon after his return from abroad, Nehru got the resolution reversed as he was afraid of the influence of Patel's group becoming dominant in case of RSS men entering Congress on a large scale. What was the reaction of RSS-leaders in this regard? The question can best be answered in the words of Shri Babasaheb Apte. He said, "We have no doors in our organisation to close. What to speak of doors, we do not even have walls. We are the ones who play on an open playground." (The RSS story-K.R. Malkani).

On 11th July, 1949, the ban on RSS was lifted. On the same day, Shri Venkat Ram Shastri, the mediator, in his last letter to the government of India had clearly stated that RSS volunteers could well form a political party. He had said, "Although these people say that theirs is a non-political organisation, yet I have read a comment that they can convert it into a political organisation over-night. It is, indeed, true that they can form a political party. However, presuming that they do so, it will not be a crime."

During the period of ban, senior leaders of RSS had also been considering the alternative of forming a political party. The government had also got wind of it and possibly, it was to obviate the chances of one more political rival coming up that the ban on RSS was lifted unconditionally.

Even so, during the ban, the supporters of *Hindu*ism and the RSS workers had a very hard time and the RSS workers had not forgotten this. Innumerable workers of RSS had been jailed during the ban. Those who were outside the jails, had set up the 'Committee for Civic Rights' and were explaining the role of RSS to the people through personal contacts. However, even the press at the time took no interest in the RSS. It thus became clear to the RSS workers that RSS had no sympathisers in the political world. Those who thought intensely about the future could see that after the death of Gandhiji, one era in Indian politics was coming to an end and a new era was about to begin; that this juncture was appropriate time to inject into the political thinking of the country the basic thought of *Hindu*ism, the seeds of which had been sown in the minds of the innumerable RSS workers from as far back as 1925. For this, it was necessary for them to start their own political party.

It was thought that such a political party should have a twofold aim. One, to oppose all un-Indian and anti-Indian concepts and decisions that have entered Indian politics and to organise public opinion for that purpose. Second, to bring about social, economic and political reconstruction of the country on the pattern of the Indian way of life; in other words, to propagate in the country the *Hindu* ideology and *Hindu* style of functioning and to try to win power in order to bring about a change by democratic means so that it will not be just a front to secure political protection for RSS. It would be a political party which would offer an alternative plan for national reconstruction and would do political organisation for it and which would believe in the philosophy of the *Hindu* way of life. The problems of India were not merely political or economic but social and cultural too. The origin of Indian nationalism could be traced to the cultural unity of India. It is the *Hindu* who created Indian nationality. As such, the process of all round national reconstruction should not be one of blindly copying the West or some one else. It should, rather, be based on our own values, experiences and talent. There were numerous capable, dedicated and enlightened volunteers in the RSS who firmly believed in the foregoing. Deendayalji was in prison at that time. Shri Vasant Rao Oak was the main figure behind the RSS work being done in Delhi in those days. During the stay in Jail Deendayalji had, in his discussions, expounded the desirability of establishing the rule of law in India.

Open Debate among Volunteers

What were the views of the volunteers at that time and how their minds were reacting to the situation in the country can well be judged from the writings in the press during that period. In this context, one can refer to the articles written by men like Shri K.R. Malkani, the former Editor of 'Organiser', Prof. Balraj Madhok and Shri Dada Rao Paramarth, a senior leader of RSS.

The situation prevailing at that time had been fully analysed in four articles published under the pseudo name 'Kamal'. In the last of these articles, Shri Malkani had written, "During the Jehad staged by the Congress against the Sangh, no legislator spoke a single word against the misdeeds of the government. There could be no greater condemnation than this, of the way democracy is being run in India. Evidently, the democratic tradition in India had died even before its birth. All the values of national culture, national tradition and civil liberty have become secondary to loyalty to the senior leaders of the party. This clearly shows that the party government can function arbitrarily. There is open totalitarianism in the country." In addition to describing in this way the anti-Sangh atmosphere prevailing at that time, the article goes on to say, "The Sangh should seek people's support not only for its own protection but also for putting a check on the un-Indian and anti-Indian policies of the government. Today, the question which is most important is the one relating to ideology and ideals and not merely one relating to politics or the economy. We should, no doubt, build big dams and factories but what is more important today is to provide a philosophy of life to the country which is in accordance with our ancient ideals. For bringing about a national renaissance, it is necessary to revive Indian idealism. If renaissance is based on philosophical outlook then we can revive the dormant strength of the country. The Congress Party does not possess such a revolutionary ideology and is wholly incapable of providing it. Therefore, today, political activity is badly needed not merely for self-protection but for finding solutions to the present political and economic questions in the light of *Bharatiya* way of life and *Bharatiya* values and national culture." (Organiser, 14th December, 1949). Earlier, in the September 6, 1949 issue of Organiser, Shri Balraj Madhok had forcefully pleaded that the time for taking a decision had come and that the country was looking towards the leadership of RSS with great hope. Therein he had said, "The Sangh has placed before it, the goal of restoring to the nation its supreme glory. But this is not possible without an over-all thinking and development of national life. No doubt,, the Sangh has left its volunteers free to join any political party. But today, they do not find a single political party having faith in Indian ideals and traditions which they could join. At the same time, they can not avoid political involvement for the reason that, in a democratic system, every citizen is a voter and it is not possible for him to remain unconcerned about the political affairs of the country. If a political party, believing in the establishment of Indian culture, is set up then the RSS volunteers would be able to join such a party as political activists while retaining their membership of the Sangh-for cultural activity. In this manner, the work of cultural renaissance and social reformation can be carried on by the Sangh without any interruption."

RSS and the Indian Political Parties

Shri Dada Rao Paramarth, who was then the State Propagation Secretary of the Sangh in Madras, had, in an article, given his views about the various political parties of India. While stating that the Congress had failed to fulfil the expectations of the people and had reduced itself to a party concentrating all its attention on retaining power, he also referred to other political parties like the Socialists, Communists and the *Hindu* Mahasabha.

In his opinion, it was four-cornered confrontation in which RSS would remain neutral; RSS would, however, act as a moral force to restore balance in this confrontation and to save the country from disorder and anarchy; it was necessary to underline this role of the RSS. As such, Dada Rao was of the view that the Sangh should remain aloof from party politics.

RSS and Politics

After the ban on RSS was lifted in 1949, the Congress Party was watching what course of action would be adopted by RSS. From the very beginning, RSS had adopted the policy of non-involvement in politics. In this context, it is relevant to recall a reminiscence relating to the founder and the first Sarsanghchalak, Dr. Hedgewar. Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, who was a close associate of Gandhiji, went to meet Dr. Hedgewar on 31st January, 1934. He expressed the wish that the Sangh should function under the control of the Congress. Thereupon, Doctorji politely replied, "RSS should develop itself independently on its own. My objective is to create volunteers who can take an over-all view of all aspects of national life and can take the country on the path of progress on their own strength; presently, this task can be performed neither by a party nor by a political leader."

(The RSS story-K.R. Malkani)

Ideological Concept about Role in Politics

Shri Guruji had no personal interest in power politics. He had made his ideological concept clear in this regard many a times. He used to tell the volunteers, "These days people think of nothing but politics. We have forgotten the fact that politics is only a small part of the activities of our life. Life is vaster and nobler than politics. The main activity of our life is culture, not politics. In the Indian culture, politics is a small department intended for the fulfilment of our physical needs.

To think that politics is all pervasive is to visualise the Indian Nation without a soul. Dominance of politics alone in our life leads to differences of opinion and new parties and breeds intolerance in the country. Can not these parties adopt a common stand? The fact is that respect for the opinion of others has become extinct and only intolerance is growing. Today, we find an un-Indian tendency in our political life which lays down the law, 'Be in our party or be our enemy'." (Samagra Darshan, Vol. 2, p. 75-76)

Political use of the Power of the Sangh

Nehru and Patel were the two leaders of the conflict going on in the Congress Party. Sardar Patel had the disadvantage of ill-health and was not in a position to engage in the confrontation with vigour. For the assassination of Gandhiji, not only RSS but Sardar Patel was also blamed. A few days before the ban on RSS was lifted, Shri Eknath Ranade had met Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel said to Ranade, "Some of our brothers like Nehru think differently. They are enraged when they hear any talk about organisation and culture. There is no doubt that they would change their views in due course. But the pertinent question is, 'Whether you would strengthen my hands or not'?" In the end Sardar Patel said, "There are people who have a vested interest in the spread of anarchy and all-round breakdown in the rule of law. Therefore, it is very necessary for people with common view to work together." (The RSS story-K.R. Malkani). Similar views were expressed by Sardar Patel to Vasant Rao Oak.

From this, it appears that Sardar Patel believed that RSS possessed adequate strength to give Indian politics the desired turn. It was because of this that he was moving in the direction of bringing RSS closer. This is evidenced by the fact that, when Nehru was on tour abroad, he got a resolution passed throwing open the doors of Congress to the RSS. This incident has already been referred to earlier.

The Trial of Strength

The election of the Congress President was scheduled to take place on the 27th August, 1950. The Patel group had sponsored the candidature of Babu Purushottamdas Tandon for this post, whereas the Nehru group supported Shankar Rao Deo. This was trial of strength. The difference in objectives and policies of the two groups were brought into bold relief by the contest. Nehru was pursuing the policy of appeasing the Indian Muslims, the Communists and Pakistan, whereas, Sardar Patel was in favour of adopting a more farsighted and rational policy in this regard. Tandonji had the sympathy of the *Hindu* Lobby. On the other hand, Nehru was threatening to quit the Congress in case Tandon was elected. Nehru threatened to form a new party with the help of Kidwai. Necessary posters had already been printed for this purpose. Tandonji was elected President by an overwhelming majority. In this way, Sardar Patel had won in the trial of strength. But, unfortunately, his health did not stand him in good stead in his pursuit of an ideal and his keen desire. Soon, Sardar Patel died and the Congress Party and the government, both came under the sway of Nehru. Nehru became the master of the situation. After Gandhiji's death, Nehru became his political successor; still he could not dominate Congress organisation. Sardar Patel had proved his supremacy by getting Tandon elected as the President of the Congress Party. But with the death of Patel, those who believed in *Hindu*ism lost their political support. A new vacuum was created in Indian politics. It was for this reason that some volunteers of RSS took the personal decision of entering the field of political service.

The School of Thought of Sangh

In substance, it can be said that the creation of Jan Sangh was an incident involving the decision of some RSS workers choosing politics as a field of service for themselves. Although the immediate cause for this decision was, possibly, the fact that protagonists of *Hindu*ism felt stifled, yet, it basically resulted from an ideological and political need felt by them. In this way, a section of RSS workers, who had faith in the RSS ideology and who were committed to its values and ideals, stepped forward to herald a new era in politics. It was a group of such workers who constituted *Jana Sangh*.

Nehru was engaged in sowing the seeds of nationalism devoid of religion and material humanism in politics. Persons belonging to the communist and socialist line of thinking were close to Nehru in this regard. Hence, efforts were started to root out the upholders of *Hindu*ism from the political field by branding them as communal. Gandhism, born in the cradle of Indian Culture and spiritual humanism, both had become orphans. Cultural nationalism and *Hindu* ideology hardly had any political existence. It was necessary for these ideologies to have their own platform if they were to be propagated all over the country. Many workers, who had been inculcated with the RSS ideology, decided to take the responsibility upon themselves. This is how Sangh idealism entered the political aspect of the national mainstream.

Ideological Background

Deendayalji was one of the prominent theorists of RSS. The views that he used to propagate then, have been referred to in the first chapter. By this time, the RSS workers had started the publication of the monthly magazine '*Rashtra Dharma*' from Lucknow. In the first issue of this magazine, an article, written by Deendayalji, had been published under the caption 'Problems of Indian National Life'. In this article he had stated, "Today the people of India have been divided into four ideologies i.e. uniculturism, bi-culturism, communalism and multi-culturism. Uniculturism is supported by the RSS, by Congressmen like Purushottamdas Tandon and by most of the Indians. Those who believe in the Multi-cultural entity of the society are mainly the Communists. The third category is of Bi-culturists; to it belong a few Congress leaders and parties like the Muslim League. The fourth category is of Communalists consisting of Mullas and Maulavis. They want to rebuild India on communal lines. These four categories, in fact, represent four types of tendencies namely, cultural, economic, political and communal. But, India is one nation with only one culture. Culture is the soul of India. It is only our culture that can protect and develop India."

(Rahtra *Dharma*, Sharad Poornima, Samvat 2006)

The above exposition brings out the fact that Deendayalji insisted on patriotism and commitment to culture being the sole principles on the basis of which our problems should be solved.

Crisis of One-party Democracy

The situation in the country was being handled only from the political point of view. This would have resulted in Congress becoming a party of opportunists seeking power only. Political thinkers were giving the warning that if the opposition parties failed to be significant, *Bharat* would become a country of one-party dictatorship. In the party system, opposition is as important as the ruling party. If only one party remained in power for too long, then that party would start behaving as if it was its birthright to rule.

Gandhiji's Moral Pressure

In those days, it was impossible to consider the Indian situation without reference to Gandhiji. The reason was that with the death of Gandhi, the light, which had been showing the path for the last 28 years, had now been extinguished. Hence, it was inevitable that people remembered the path shown by him and the teachings given by him. According to the Indian tradition, freedom and home-rule did not mean and should not mean arbitrary rule. Moral discipline should be acceptable both to the individual and the society, including the State; this is *Bharatiya* tradition. In practice, 'Rama *Rajya*' also carried the same meaning. This was the ideal of Rama *Rajya* as conceived by Gandhiji. Political leaders, who were introspective, as also other thinkers, were wondering whether the democratic government of India had forgotten these ideals. Therefore, in those days, there was at least an indirect pressure of Gandhiji's moral ideals on politics.

To sum up, Indian political thinking at that time was made up of four components - Indian cultural values, democratic values, Gandhian ethical values and Marxism.

The political parties here and their outlook, have to be considered with reference to these. Power was a new political reality. Political party was a new medium. Power-politics is an essential part of all such thinking. As such, it became one of the considerations on which thinking was based. The Congress leaders had found, in the Congress, a new instrument for organising and enjoying power. A fear was growing in the country that if Congress remained uncontrolled and if it loses its idealism and values, the country could go downhill very fast.

Dr. Mookherji's Dilemma

It was but natural that talented people should find place in the first Council of Ministers in free India. For this reason, Nehru had included Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji in his Council of Ministers. Both of them possessed an independent character and Nehru was never able to adjust himself with their views. As such, when the Congress would come into power, later on, it would become impossible for both of them to remain in the Council of Ministers. Their differences with Nehru had started to come out in the open. Although the matters on which the two differed with Nehru were not common between them, yet, it was to become impossible for both to remain in the Congress set up. Both had to give up their ministerships and they formed two independent political parties.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji was a staunch *Hindu.* He was the president of the *Hindu* Mahasabha and had joined the Council of Ministers as a representative of that organisation. He differed with Nehru on policies relating to Kashmir and East Bengal. Dr. Mookherji was not power-hungry. Rather he was a man of principles with democratic views. Consequently when Hindus were migrating from East Bengal, he did not want to continue in the Indian Government which had become helpless and was hiding its cowardice behind hollow policies of secularism. At the time of partition, Dr. Mookherji had given an assurance to the people of East Bengal that if Pakistan attacked their civic rights, the government of free India would not helplessly look on. But now, this was what was actually happening. Dr. Mookherji had no alternative but to resign from the Council of Ministers. With a sad and heavy heart he opened his mind to Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel told him, "I was able to protect the Hindus of Hyderabad but am unable to give any protection to those of East Bengal, for which I am sorry. You know the reason of my helplessness. But with your departure my side will become even weaker." (Discussion with present Author).

However, Sardar Patel was looking at things only from the point of view of Congress and in the context of Nehru-Patel conflict. Dr. Mookherji could not think thus. In view of the state of health of Sardar Patel, Dr. Mookherji could well understand the former's anxiety. Even so, considering the contempt Nehru had for *Hindu*ism, he thought it better to give a straight fight to Nehru's anti-religious perversion. Supporters of *Hindu*ism within the Congress Party belonged to the category who give priority to power over *Hindu*ism. Therefore, the only course left for Dr. Mookherji was to organise a party which would fearlessly espouse the cause of Hindus but would, at the same time, keep its doors open to all Indians and would have faith in democracy. As soon as the idea of forming such a party came to his mind, he resigned from the Council of Ministers on 19th April, 1950. Making a submission in Parliament on that day, he revealed the problem of *Hindu* Migrants from East Bengal to be the reason of his resignation. He thought that the Nehru-Liaquet Agreement, signed earlier, was also causing hardship to the Hindus.

After Dr. Mookherji resigned from the Council of Ministers, he was felicitated by the Citizens of Delhi at a function held on the same day. The function was organised by the Sanghchalak for Delhi, Sri Hansraj, Chief Organiser of the Sangh, Shri Vasant Rao Oak and the Chairman of the Punjab National Bank, Lala Yodhraj. In the address presented to Dr. Mookherji at the function, hope was expressed that Dr. Mookherji would provide to the country a courageous leadership which the country needed at that time. However, Dr. Mookherjee did not immediately commit himself.

Dr. Mookherji had been keeping in touch with workers of the RSS. Those among them who wished to take an initiative in organising a political party, had been feeling that Dr. Mookherji should lead the new party. His resignation came as the golden opportunity they had been waiting for. Immediately, the decision was taken to set up an All India Party. The Sangh workers had already decided to start the work in as many provinces as possible to be followed by the setting up of an All India Party.

According to this decision, constituent parties had been set up at Calcutta and Jallandhar in 1951, on the provincial level. The new party was named people's party (*Jana Sangh*) and Dr. Mookherji was elected its President. The party announced an eight point programme which included creation of undivided India (*Akhand Bharat*), adopting a policy of reciprocity instead of appeasement vis-a-vis Pakistan, pursuing a realistic foreign policy based on predominance of Indian interest, rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal in a planned manner, bringing about a cultural renaissance in the whole of India based on Indian culture, ensuring equal rights to all citizens, providing equal opportunity of development to all socially and economically backward sections of society and delineating the boundaries of West Bengal in a judicious manner based on administrative and economic considerations. It is to be noted that although the party had decided to take up regional issues, it also took upon itself the task of cultural reformation and of restructuring the socio-economic system on an all-India basis.

The provincial party set up at Jalandhar in 1951 included Punjab and PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi. The inaugural conference of the party was attended by about 200 leaders and workers of the region. It was for the first time after partition that such a big political conference was held. The conference was attended by representatives of all groups and the people of all levels. The Conference was convened only to highlight the problems of people at large. The organisers of the conference were also motivated by the need of bringing about *Hindu*-Sikh unity and opposing the power-drunk Congress Party. Their aim was to formulate constructive and progressive principles for the new party and to build a strong alternative.

Similar provincial conferences were held in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in June-July, 1951. At the Lucknow conference Deendayalji was elected General Secretary for UP *Jana Sangh*.

After all such provincial conferences were over, there was held in Delhi on 19th Sept. 1950 a meeting of all presidents and secretaries of the various conferences. Shri Balraj Madhok was appointed the convenor of the Conference which was to be convened at Delhi, on 21st October, 1951 for formally launching the *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* Party. Even before the conference scheduled for 21st October, 1951, province level parties had been set up for all the northern as also eastern parts except Vindhya Pradesh and Assam. In this way, the organisational set up of the *Jana Sangh* started from the bottom and that is a special feature of this party. The policy of going from top to the bottom was not adopted and, instead, the structure of the All India Party was set up only after laying an extensive base.

It was natural for workers, coming from all the parts of the country, to desire that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji should accept the leadership of the new party. As such, the leaders of RSS and other political workers met him on 21st October, 1951 to formally request him to accept the leadership of the party and to chalk out the future programme. (Portrait of a Martyr, by Balraj Modhok, pp. 100-103). "With great humility Dr. Mookherji said, "You are putting a heavy responsibility on my shoulders. I shall try my best to discharge this responsibility with a sense of service to the motherland. But before accepting the proposal I wish to seek clarification on one or two points regarding the character of the proposed party. Firstly, what will be the nature of its relationship with other nationalist parties? This should be made clear. Secondly, the doors of the proposed party should be kept open to all Indian citizens who are devoted to India and have respect for its culture, because I want the party to become a strong rallying point for all the nationalist forces of the country." Obviously no one could have possibly differed from this conception. Even so, in the meeting with Dr. Mookherji, Shri Guruji had explained to him as to what would be the role of RSS volunteers who were going to set up the Party. An account of this talk was given by Shri Guruji himself in an article published in the 'Organiser' in 1956. This account will have to be accepted as the authoritative report of the talks held with RSS before the formation of the *Jana Sangh*. (Organiser, 25th June, 1956)

In the above mentioned article, Shri Guruji had said, "After Dr. Mookherji submitted his resignation and came out of the government; he did not find any of the existing political parties suited to him. Therefore, he was thinking of setting up a new party. He met me in this context to obtain my advice and cooperation. As the matter was important, we had several rounds of meetings and discussed all the related matters in detail. I had told Dr. Mookherji in clear terms that it would not be possible for the RSS to enter the political arena. If any organisation, working for a true cultural renaissance in the country, became a tool in the hands of a political party then it would never be successful; and it was for this reason that RSS would not accept the dominance by any political party. He had very well understood our stand and had also agreed that this role was wholly correct. He had also clearly stated that if the new party was to properly grow, it could not sustain itself subservient to any other organisation."

"When we agreed on the relationship between RSS and the proposed new party, another important point to consider was the ideal of the new party. The ideal and the policy of RSS had already been determined. Therefore, if cooperation of any RSS member was desired, it was necessary that RSS ideal and policy must be reflected in the ideal of the new party.

"On this matter also we were in full agreement. I referred to a statement of Dr. Mookherji in a Press Conference in which he had stated that *Hindu* Mahasabha was communal as it believed in *Hindu* Nation. I told him that RSS believed that the Indian Nation is, in fact, a *Hindu* Nation and as such he will have to give RSS a wide berth which he gave to *Hindu* Maha Sabha and that he should not proceed on the presumption that he would get the sympathy and cooperation of my colleagues who were tirelessly working for the goal of restoring the *Hindu* Nation. Therefore, Dr. Mookherji conceded that he had given that statement by mistake. He also stated that our concept of *Hindu* Nation was acceptable to him. Stating that our Constitution had failed to clearly define Indian Nationalism Dr. Mookherji also said, "The goal to restore to the *Hindu* Nation its Supreme glory, is not inconsistent even with the modern concept of democracy. So long as the people belonging to the non-*Hindu* sects do not indulge in anti-national activities by acquiring power, do not conspire to push the nation back in its progress on the path to glory, a guarantee of providing them all the civic rights and equal status in political, religious and cultural field is implied in the concept of the *Hindu* Nation". Dr. Mookherji also expressed his readiness to make an explicit mention of this guarantee in the policy-draft of the new party.

"In this way, after we came to an agreement, I selected a few dedicated and reliable workers. I gave to Dr. Mookherji such workers who would discharge the responsibility of setting up the new party with selfless and steadfast dedication and who were capable of laying strong foundation of and giving a practical shape to a popular All India Political Party. Subsequently, Dr. Mookherji gave practical shape to his ambition by setting up a political Party which was called "*Jana Sangh*". In the same article Shri Guruji further stated, "After handing over a team of our workers to Dr. Mookherji, according to our policy, I remained uninvolved in all the future programmes of *Jana Sangh* and concentrated all my attention on my work of building a cultural organisation of the Hindus". (The RSS Story-Malkani)

After he was satisfied, Dr. Mookherji dedicated himself wholly to *Jana Sangh*. Discussions about the proposed objectives and programmes etc. of *Jana Sangh* were held. Dr. Mookherji was a staunch supporter of *Hindu*ism. He was also a liberal.

His experience as a minister, exact knowledge of the country's condition due to his being in the executive and his appreciation of the country's problems-*Jana Sangh* got the benefit of all these qualities of Dr. Mookherji. Generally it is difficult for a new political party to get popular support. But looking at the stature and charisma of Dr. Mookherji, political observers felt that Jana Sang would be a party of a level of its own.

Grand Conference at Delhi

On the 21st October, 1951 *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* was launched as a political party in the presence of about a thousand citizens and 500 workers from all over the country with a firm determination to start a new current in the country's political life. In the presidential address, Dr. Mookherji outlined the stand of *Jana Sangh* in the context of many current problems.

At the very outset Dr. Mookherji made it clear that "*Jana Sangh* has not been set up with merely an eye on forthcoming elections and our aim is not merely to criticize the Congress. We have to build a happy and prosperous India. Congress has disillusioned the people. The Congress Party had started its journey after independence with the massive goodwill of the people but today it has lost that goodwill. Congress has become a party promoting totalitarianism, the reason being that the country does not have an opposition party which could keep the Congress in check and provide to the country an alternative government. Today, *Jana Sangh* is being set up as the main opposition party.

"Congress is still pursuing the policy of Muslim appeasement in the name of secular politics. Rather, Nehru takes pleasure in hurting the sentiments of Hindus. It is the clear cut view of *Jana Sangh* that it is possible for Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians and Muslims etc. to remain staunch Indians even while practicing their respective religions with great devotion. *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* firmly believes that India will attain glory by having faith in and by paying due respect to *Bharatiya* culture and civilization only."

In the end, Dr. Mookherji said, "It is our firm belief that with the setting up of *Jana Sangh* a new era of hope will commence. We are starting on our journey with hope, dedication and faith. We have to revitatlise the life-force of India and to rebuild India. These tasks await us."

Bharatiya Jana Sangh came into existence in the political field of the country with an Indian view point on national life and with an Indian cultural tradition. Dr. Mookherji was a leader who was learned, refined and a staunch liberal democrat; his leadership ensured success for *Jana Sangh*.

3

Jana Sangh's View of National Life

'Political doctrines and social theories are deduced from a philosophy having a comprehensive view of life.'

M.N. Roy (Politics, Party and Power)

Jana Sangh was formed in order to give a new direction to-Indian Politics. Political observers had welcomed it as a party which had roots in India and its culture. The founders of *Jana Sangh* had not only determined as to what were the most important questions facing the country, but they also wanted to evolve a comprehensive view of national life. Roy has said that political doctrines and social theories are evolved out of a philosophy based on a comprehensive view of life. Politics and sociology are the two parts of national life; the founders of *Jana Sangh* were well aware of this. It is for this reason that they decided to give precedence to nationalism over politics including power politics. It was on this basis that they proceeded to formulate their doctrines and policies on political, social and economic matters. This was their special feature. While arriving at these formulations, the ancient values of life were fully kept in view while recognising the need for change in keeping with the changing time.

When we try to define the essential features of the national philosophy of life, as viewed by *Jana Sangh*, we have to bear in mind the fact that Deendayalji was the theorist of the *Jana Sangh* party from the beginning. He was discharging the triple function of a thinker, organiser and propagandist for the party. As such, while formulating the essential features of the nationalist view of life, the party was benefited by the profound thinking of Deendayalji which was based on harmony. The idea of Integral Humanism was the result of this influence. In an article entitled 'Why *Jana Sangh*' (*Panchajanya*, 25 January 1960), Deendayalji had explained the objective of the formation of *Jana Sangh* in these words: "So long as our action, whether it is political or social, is not based on *dharma*, it would not be possible to bring about a basic change in human nature nor would it be possible to co-ordinate individual aspirations and social needs. The ruling parties in India as well as the opposition both have disregarded this basic principle. *Jana Sangh* has had to be founded to make good this deficiency. *Dharma* of the self can not be separated from self-rule. Here *Dharma* does not stand for form of worship, sect or religion. *Dharma* only means the philosophy that sustains the society. Hence, *Jana Sangh* has not been created merely to participate in the contemporary game of power politics. Its aim is to bring about a favourable change in our age, based on the ancient cultural values of India."

Dedication to Culture

The first principle of *Jana Sangh*'s national view of life is commitment to culture. *Bharat* is an ancient nation. Even before the advent of the British, *Bharat* was a nation. After independence, it was the beginning of a new era for India and there was no creation of a new nation. All the people living on this *Bharatiya* soil and having a feeling of affinity for this land, are one people. Their way of life, art and literature, philosophy etc. are all part of the Indian culture. The Indian nation is a homogeneous entity composed of different castes and sects. Just as *Bharat* is an integral land, so also its culture is integral and not an admixture. Hence the basis of Indian nationalism is its culture. India can remain united only when we remain devoted to this culture. In brief, culture is the foundation of national unity in

Bharat.

The second principle is that there being an integral culture in *Bharat*, the *Bharatiya* view of life is also integral. The question of the development of the individual and society is looked upon by *Jana Sangh* from this point of view. The Western idea of one-sided development centered at the development of the individual or the idea of human development on the presumption of man as a political or economic animal is not acceptable to *Jana Sangh*. The all-round development of man can come about only when his body, mind, intellect and soul are developed simultaneously. Such perfection is the main feature of the *Bharatiya* way of life.

The third principle is that the question of the interests of the individual and the society should be looked at not from the point of view of confrontation but on the basis of harmony.

As the individual and the society both are inter-dependent, their mutual relations should also be based on complementarily, congeniality and co-operation. Indeed this principle sustains the whole Nature. Hence, *Jana Sangh* eschews communalism and classism and upholds the idea of universal development and universal unity.

The fourth principle relates to the relations between the individual and the society. Along with 'I' should also be considered 'we' and 'our'. The individual is the means and also the sensory nerve of the society. If the individual perishes then the society will become paralysed. The perfection of society can be judged from the perfection of the individual. Therefore, individual freedom and the interest of the society are not contradictory to each other.

The fifth principle is that for the development of the individual, four purusharthas (objectives) are prescribed in our culture. These objectives are pursuit of *Dharma*, Artha (acquisition of wealth), Kama (fulfilment of desires) and Moksha (liberation of the soul). These principles, guiding individual activity, sustain the society and, as such, they are part of *Dharma*. Though this *Dharma* is eternal, its external form changes with every age. In this way it is *Dharma* which regulates the society.

The sixth principle is that the *Jana Sangh* believes that only a *Dharma rajya*, the rule of *Dharma*, is the ideal rule. But the rule of *Dharma*, as conceived by *Jana Sangh*, is non-sectarian and non-religious. It is the rule of law. It is not a dictatorial or arbitrary rule, nor is it a democratic rule based on self-interest. It is a rule which gives more emphasis on duties as against rights. Emphasis on rights alone leads to greater craving for rights. It is in a system of government which gives more emphasis on rights that duties are neglected and rights become intoxicant. Such a rule leads to conflict and competition. These are the evil results of a rule based on rights. These are not to be found in *Dharma rajya* which lays emphasis on duties. In the rule based on duties, the administrative, judicial and the legislative institutions function according to proper rules. However, all individuals and institutions in such a rule are bound by *Dharma*.

The seventh principle of *Jana Sangh*'s view of life is commitment to democracy. Democracy is the means of ensuring and protecting the rights and the dignity of the people. *Jana Sangh* advocates that there should be democracy not only in the political field but in the economic and social field as well. In fact, democracy is an indivisible concept. If there is no democracy in one field of activity, it is bound to affect the other fields also. Democracy is sustained by tolerance, dignity of the individual, as well as by fusion of the self with the society; without these components democracy would be a form without soul. Democracy can undergo a change to suit the requirements of the country, the times and the circumstances, only when people are alert. The basic element of a representative democracy is the people's right to elect their representatives and to be elected as representative. The basic element of an economic democracy is the freedom of trade and of the customers. In a social democracy the basic things are the dignity of the individual and equality of opportunity. However, it has to be ensured that one's rights shall not be detrimental to the interests of others but are complementary.

Freedom is the life and soul not only of democracy but also of man and the nation. Like democracy, freedom is also an indivisible concept. Economic and social freedoms are impossible without political freedom. At the same time if there is no economic freedom, man will not be able to enjoy social and political freedom and without social freedom, man will lose his freedom due to shortage or (ill) effect of wealth. Thus all the three freedoms-political, economic and social-are essential for man. In substance, freedom is the eighth principle of *Jana Sangh*'s view of life.

Jana Sangh has based its national view of life on the above eight principles; the national approach for solving the national problems has been evolved as the policy of *Jana Sangh*. *Jana Sangh* continued to get the right guidance from the thinking, study and the analysis of the national questions by Deendayalji. The economic and social philosophy of *Jana Sangh* had been mentioned here in brief. *Jana Sangh* has been a party which believed in change. The above analysis brings out the nature of the changes it conceived and will also help in understanding the ideological inspiration provided by Deendayalji.

Economic Thinking

The main aim of the economic policy of *Jana Sangh* is the establishment of an economic order based on the value system inherent in the Indian way of life. In formulating this policy it has to be borne in mind that Indian culture does not consider man merely as an economic being. That is why *Jana Sangh* has repudiated both the capitalist as well as the communist systems prevalent in the world today, the reason being that both the systems have a common root; while in one (capitalist) system man becomes the slave of wealth, in the other (communist) he loses his freedom and becomes the slave of the institution of State.

Both the systems turn man into a materialistic animal. Thus, in both the systems man is neglected. It is for this reason that *Jana Sangh* has conceived of a system in which man's freedom and opportunity for development are not only protected but opportunity is also provided for their attainment.

This object can be achieved only in a decentralized economic order. Therefore, *Jana Sangh* has proposed decentralization of the economic system. In a democracy, centralization of economic power is always a danger to man's freedom. Therefore, it is essential to have decentralization on geographical as well as commercial basis. However in such decentralization, modernization is also essential. Modern development should be brought about with the help of modern science by planning small projects on co-operative basis. Big industries should be given the last place in the order of priorities and they should be set up only in such fields in which small industries are not viable.

Swadeshi and Self-Sufficiency

Jana Sangh has accepted *Swadeshi* and self-sufficiency as the guiding principles of the country's economic policy. It holds that in the name of modernisation our country is being Westernised. This Westernisation is encouraging the craving for luxuries. This has led to increasing number of social problems and harmful tendencies taking shape in the economic field. We are becoming more and more dependent on others. It is, therefore, necessary for us to relearn the lessons of *Swadeshi* and self-sufficiency. In this way, entry of foreign capital into our country will be restricted to fields where it is essential and we shall be saved from the temptation of depending on foreign capital.

The Basis of Planning

It is necessary to have economic planning so that national resources can be utilised to the maximum in as short a time as possible. But it has to be borne in mind that the planning is only a means and not an end. We need an economic plan which could protect our basic values and beliefs; one of the aims of our economic policy should be to strengthen these values and beliefs. The inspiration for economic development cannot come from economic objectives alone. For this, it is necessary to cultivate the commitment of the people; only then planning can be successful.

In India, economic planning should be congenial to democracy. Then only will it be possible to implement the plan in a democratic manner. The objects of our planning should be national security, total and universal employment, reducing disparity of wealth, making efforts to raise the living standard of every family, etc. For a balanced development of agriculture, industry, commerce, social welfare etc. proper priorities shall have to be laid down.

About the right to own property also, *Jana Sangh* had adopted an original approach. Some schools of thought believe that personal right to property is unquestionable. The opposite view is held by those who believe that individual ownership of wealth and property should be completely done away with. Apart from these, there is a third concept which holds all wealth to be the property of God Almighty of which man should function only as a 'trustee'. From the moral point of view the concept of trusteeship is commendable, but in actual practice the problem remains as to what rules should bind a trustee and who is to lay down such rules?

However, it is also true that wealth confers dignity and respect on man and gives him a sense of security and satisfaction. That is why *Jana Sangh* does not advocate total abolition of right to property. It does believe, however, that such a right should be relative with reference to the community and, therefore, such a right can never remain unquestioned and unrestricted.

Secondly, our policy about property should be evolved in accordance with our culture. Needs of man are linked to the cultural values. Therefore, while fixing the ceiling to property, such values must also be taken into consideration. If a man has a very large property, he is likely to become lazy and given to luxury. However, without property man is likely to become a slave. *Jana Sangh*, therefore, considers it necessary for ownership of property to be regulated.

Social Policy

The social policy of India should be drawn with the faith that people of India are one. Efforts will have to be made to make this basic unity stronger.

However, in order to remove the obstacles in the way of bringing about unity, it is necessary to take in hand educational programmes and agitational programmes to remove the social disparities based on high and low caste and on untouchability etc. No discrimination should be practised on the basis of class or caste. Special opportunities for progress should be provided to those who are backward in education and refinement since the past several centuries and those who are poverty-stricken. However, care has to be taken to see that backwardness is not used for furthering selfish interests.

In the same way, special effort should be made to bring forward women in the social, educational and economic field so that they may be able to suitably discharge their responsibilities towards their homes and the nation. Women should be provided equal opportunity in every field of social activity. Evil practices of dowry, purdah, unequal marriages etc. should be done away with. The dignity of motherhood is the basic spirit of Indian culture. All mother-welfare programmes should be given importance among social welfare programmes. Women should have equal rights with men in regard to wages and property.

Laws relating to marriage, adoption, heredity should be common for all *Bharatiya* people.

Tolerance towards minorities and non-discriminatory treatment of minorities is an essential part of democracy. *Jana Sangh* holds out this assurance to all the minorities of *Bharat*. However, any discrimination based on religion is not acceptable to *Jana Sangh*. Such a policy is against non-communalism and the 'secular' policy of the State. Such discrimination in politics or administration is against the basic national concept.

A New Kind of Administration

After the attainment of freedom it has become especially important for us to think more deeply and in greater detail about good rule. *Jana Sangh* had been insisting on restructuring and reshaping the administration since the very beginning. The common man has the direct experience of self-rule in the way the administration functions. Therefore, an alert, capable and pro-people administration is the first requirement of self-government. At present, government employees can not participate in politics. This is not democratic. It is necessary to develop a feeling of participation in the process of development of the nation among the employees. Therefore, all government-employees, barring police, armed forces, officials and normal administrators, should be free to take part in politics.

Jana Sangh upholds the freedom of the judiciary as being basic. The party feels that justice should be prompt and cheap and the practice of following the British legal system be given up.

In substance, the aim of the view of life, as held by *Jana Sangh*, was to provide a wholly Indian approach to the rebuilding of free India. For this Deendayalji had advocated the principle, 'Be a *Bharatiya* so that you can properly serve *Bharat*'. The criterion of economic progress is not the man on the highest rung of the ladder but the man on the lowest rung of that ladder. The quality of administration, planning and all law-making should be judged from this angle. It was the feeling of and the principle adopted by *Jana Sangh* that 'the illiterate and the poorest of the poor is the real master; he is our God. This indeed is the social or human *Dharma*. Crores of our people are helpless and illiterate. The uncertainty of the future of their children is ever worrying them. When these crores of such people get the opportunities to pursue the fourfold objectives of life, then only we shall be able to give shape to the concept of human unity.'

(*Bharatiya Jana Sangh*-Declarations, Resolutions-Part 3)

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Deendayal : A Basic Ideological Thinker

We have seen that *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* was not a party founded merely for contesting elections; nor was it a party of Congress dissidents. Rather, it was a party founded with the specific purpose of evolving an independent nationalist political philosophy. The Congress had become a party of power-seekers. It was using the legacy of Gandhiji and the popular appeal of Nehruji as weapons in the game of power politics. However, *Jana Sangh* had no such assets excepting the blotless character of its leaders and workers and their extreme nationalism and commitment to culture. Indian politics had become divided into two streams of ideology, one of which represented the socialism and secular nationalism of Nehru and the other represented communism. However, even the communists were not strong and effective politically; with the result that unitarian and one-party democracy was taking firm roots in the country. In the inaugural session of *Jana Sangh*, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji had described the prevailing political situation in these words: "Four years back, Congress came into power with the legacy of goodwill but surprisingly, to-day, it has lost that goodwill. It is not supported by the majority and is trying to retain power through corrupt means. The main reason of Congress autocracy is the absence of a well-organised opposition party. Such an opposition party not only works as a check on the majority party, it also provides the country with an assurance of being a viable alternative." In brief, the establishment of a disciplined political party in *Bharat* was the need of the hour then. No-doubt, the Praja Socialist Party did exist then. But its only role was to highlight the mistakes of the Congress Party and to criticise Nehru from the socialist point of view (Correctional politics), it, no doubt, coveted power but it did not possess a basic alternative ideology.

The Need for an Alternative Ideology

In *Bharat*, there was a big class of people which did not favour the so-called secular nationalism of Nehru, his pro-Soviet policies, his contempt for Hinduism, his outward attraction to socialism and alienation from *Bharatiya* culture. Dr. Sampurnanand (Chief Minister of UP) had aptly described the prevailing situation in the following manner: "Along with our social and economic disintegration, our old values of life are losing their importance. This country of hoary traditions has memories of thousands of years of its past history which have become reflections of our hopes and expectations. We are not only disregarding our ancient traditions but turning our back on them." There was, thus, a political vacuum which was being exploited by the communists. A feeling existed in the country that the Communist ideology alone would be able to rescue *Bharat* from the prevailing situation.

In this period of transition, *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* was saddled with the dual responsibility of organising an all India party to oppose the Congress Party and of evolving an ideology which would successfully repudiate communism and re-establish *Bharatiya* values of life and of creating public opinion in favour of such an ideology. In other words, *Jana Sangh* was required not only to fill up the prevailing political vacuum but also to provide to the country a philosophy for its all-round reconstruction.

Role of Deendayalji

This historical task which *Jana Sangh* was called upon to perform could not have been performed merely by passing resolutions. Luckily, it had in its fold thousands of workers who had imbibed the basic ideology and philosophy of RSS, who were patriotic, possessed a spirit of selfless social service and were equipped with organisational ability. Even so, politics was a field unknown to them; they were wholly ignorant about the game of power-politics. In a way, they entered politics with a clean slate on which *Jana Sangh* was to inscribe the determination to shape the future of the country. Deendayaiji had been assigned the work of assisting Dr. Mookherji because Shri Guruji knew that Deendayaiji possessed all the qualities of a good organiser, viz. high intellect and capability, sweetness of speech, organising capacity, mental and emotional balance. Shri Guruji had watched the development of Deendayaiji as a volunteer. His qualities as a thinker were described by Guruji after his demise thus: "One notable quality of Deendayaiji was that while expounding a subject in speech or writing, he always kept close to the main ideal. He never gave up this habit. It was not in his nature to look at a question merely in the context of immediate problems. I knew him as a person who went to the root of every matter. While speaking on or writing about a matter of immediate importance, he never lost sight of the enduring truth."

It was a leader of such mental capability and discipline who was needed in *Bharat*, a leader who could provide a new philosophy to the country keeping in view the problems facing it. It was fortunate for *Jana Sangh* and indeed for *Bharat*, that they had in Deendayaiji such a thinker, such an organiser and such an ideal worker. Not only this, he was a person who was totally devoid of egotism and who had wholly merged his identity into the society. For him, politics was a new field of national service. He was a living symbol of the ideal conceived by Samartha Ramdas in 'Dasbodh'-

"Discard all pleasures. Catch this opportunity.
Secure your kingdom. That is your duty."

Deendayaiji built up *Jana Sangh* in a manner and provided it with a national outlook so as to enable it to come to power in the future. He became the theorist of Jana Sangh; his character and organisational ability were ideals for the Party.

Theoretical Base

Jana Sangh was formulating its ideology in a three-fold manner: (1) Thinking about the decisions taken by the Congress Party; (2) Providing *Bharatiya* outlook for the basic concepts adopted by independent *Bharat* and (3) Providing a new ideology to the country.

The Congress government had taken three important decisions. The first was to follow the policy of neutrality by not joining any power bloc or military alliance. The second related to adopting planned economy and the third to adopting mixed economy. *Jana Sangh* presented (formulated) its own views of these matters and put it before the government and the people in the form of resolutions from time to time.

All these formulations originated from Deendayaiji. In all respects, he was the Guru of *Jana Sangh*. The idea of 'Integral Humanism', as conceived by Deendayaiji, was formally adopted by *Jana Sangh* at its Vijayawada Conference held in 1965. *Jana Sangh*'s policy in regard to language, culture, *Bharat*-Pak relations, formation of coalition governments, elections, economic matters, Five Year Plans and decentralisation etc. were formulated by Deendayaiji. In his introduction to the booklet containing a collection of resolutions passed by *Jana Sangh* on economic matters, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had described Deendayaiji as being the architect of the economic policies of *Jana Sangh*.

(Economic Policy Resolutions of B.J.S.-published by B.J.S. Bombay, April, 1964).

In view of the above, it would be useful to investigate as to what was the basis of the policies adopted by B.J.S. on various matters. Such an investigation would not only be inspiring but provide guideline in view of the fact that all those problems are not only unresolved, they have become even more complex. There is an all round confusion because of the prevailing adhocism. A politician's thinking is limited to matters of immediate interest. No one has the courage to speak the bitter truth in a democracy with the result that politicians mostly adopt a populist approach. Such politics was foreign to the nature of Deendayaiji. The guiding principles of his thinking were the good of the people and the nation and the cultural values. Formulating the policies of a party on the basis of such guiding principles is not always beneficial with the result that our policies are generally based on populist slogans. Such policies do not look to the future and do not take into account the reality. Deendayalji's style of thinking was to go to the root of a matter; his thinking was based on practical experience. As he was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting the economic resolutions of B.J.S., he always tried to understand the sufferings and problems of the common man through direct contact with such people. It would be interesting to recall an incident in this context, which throws light on his style of functioning in this regard.

The incident relates to Lucknow where he had gone in connection with the movement against Cow-slaughter. One day, he wanted to have his hair cut. He had set apart one hour for this purpose. It was 7 AM but the barber had not turned up. He went to one or two hair cutting saloons but they were over-crowded. Then he saw a barber sitting idle on the foot path with no customer. He sat down before him and got his hair cut. On return his workers asked him, "Where did you get this hair cut?" He laughed and replied, "In a mobile saloon; the barber was in need of a client and I was in need of a barber." While he was getting his hair cut, he had been enquiring from the barber all about his financial condition. It was in this way that he used to make himself acquainted with the condition of rickshaw pullers, push cartmen and slum dwellers, etc. He always tried to gain first hand knowledge about the sufferings and difficulties of the common man by making direct contact with him. To understand *Bharat*'s economic problems, books he did read, but he studied *Bharatiya* life at first hand.

Study of Established Ideologies

The chief aim of economic development is the happiness of the common man. As such, Deendayalji undertook a comparative study of the various economic theories and their practical application in India and other countries. Shri Nanaji Deshmukh, who was a close colleague of Deendayalji, has written in this context, "Nationalism, democracy, socialism, communism are theories based on equality. But none of these theories is perfect. In practice, they are contradictory to one another. Nationalism can pose danger to world peace; democracy is eroded by capitalism leading to exploitation; socialism, while it destroys capitalism, also destroys democracy in the process and puts individual freedom in danger. So, today, the western countries are vexed with the problem of bringing about harmony among these ideologies so as to make them complementary to one another. Deendayalji was keenly aware of the need of having a practicable and over-all philosophy of life which should be relevant to the time we live in. His thoughts and studies were directed towards evolving such a philosophy. The result of these labours was the birth of the concept of 'Integral Humanism'. *Jana Sangh* adopted it as an ideology. Deendayalji thought about theories and men without prejudices. He tried to investigate the real worth of every doctrine; this was his speciality."

In this manner, Deendayalji commenced his ideological research. Apart from being influenced by thinkers like Swami Dayanand, Lokmanya Tilak, Dr. Hedgewar, he also had the benefit of Shri Guruji's guidance. The two used to consult each other and often held ideological discussions. Shri Guruji had once given him a book entitled '*Daishik Shastra*'. It was a book written at the time when Lokmanya Tilak was alive. Tilak had, in fact, written to its author Shri Badrishah Thuldharia and praised the book. Deendayalji used this as a reference book while propounding the concept of 'Integral Humanism'. The book had been originally written in Hindi 68 years back. After going through its manuscript, Tilak had written to the author, "I have been happy to go through your '*Daishik Shastra*'. You and I have exactly common views." The subject matter of this book is a treatise on patriotism. The concepts of *Chiti* (consciousness) and '*Virat*' (as big as Cosmos), as preached by Somwari Baba, were explained by Shri Thuldharia in this book. Deendayalji once again gave currency to these two terms. The theory that the identity of *Bharat* as a nation is known from time immemorial, that its national unity lies in its cultural unity, and that the consciousness of this unity should be made to live again in the *Bharatiya* people, was adopted by Deendayalji as the central idea of his concept. In the first issue of '*Rashtra Dharma*' published in July-August 1947, he had written an article about *Bharatiya* Culture which was entitled '*Bharatiya Rashtra-dhara Ka Punya-Pravah*'. The main contention of this article was that Indian Nationalism is founded on culture. We should once again invoke this integrated culture. Similarly, in a review of the book entitled '*Daishik Shastra*', which was published in *Panchajanya*, dated 24th August 1968, under the caption '*Bharat* of Lokmanya's dreams', he had broached the idea of Integral Humanism. He had written, "Those who are for nationalism, harmony and perfection believe that there should be harmony between Western materialism and the spiritualism of *Bharat*. Life can not be divided into two separate parts, materialism and spiritualism. The values which inspire man to improve society through his conduct emanate from a motive force which is spiritual. A harmonious social life leads to the inculcation of such values. A Society is not like a machine and can not be built merely by assembling various components. If we are not to adopt the material path of the West, then what is our own path? We do not know our own path nor do we have the confidence to find it. Hence, we fall a prey to the Western publicity and start copying the West. In writing '*Daishik Shastra*', Shri Badrishah Thuldharia was inspired by '*Karmayoga Shastra*' written by Lokmanya Tilak. By advocating Karma- Yoga on the basis of Gita, Lokmanya Tilak had diverted the spiritualism of *Bharat* from Nivritti (inaction) towards Pravritti (action). He had pulled out the eternal values of *Bharatiya* culture from the caves of the Himalayas and brought them to the open planes of *Bharat* and provided a new source of energy to the national movement. '*Daishik Shastra*' and '*Karmayoga Shastra*' are the two books which are supplementary to each other. A person dedicated to the work of nation-building must go through both these books. The two books will provide us solutions to all our problems."

(*Panchajanya*, 24th August, 1959)

Deeendayalji was convinced that these two books contained the basic ideas of a national philosophy of life for *Bharat*.

Adya-Shankaracharya-His *Dharma* Renaissance

While exploring the mental and ideological background of Deendayalji, we shall have to go far back in time. In a character sketch of Adya-Shankaracharya written by him, Deendayalji has analysed as to how Adya-Shankaracharya met the challenge of Buddhism, how he re-established Vedic *Dharma* all over *Bharat* and how he was able to bring about a change in keeping with the time without sacrificing the traditions. He had expressed his views on this subject in an article in the first issue (July-August 1947) of the monthly '*Rashtra Dharma*'. From this essay we can guess his own line of thinking, for, although he was deeply rooted in tradition, he also had a great craving for change. Consequently, he was always exploring as to how changes had been brought about in the Hindus in the past and who were instrumental in bringing about these changes. In his article on Adya-Shankaracharya and Gautam Buddha, Deendayalji has said, "Shankaracharya is a shining example of the existence of harmonious tendency in *Hindu Dharma*. He understood the revolt of Buddha. He had properly understood the changed times. Buddha's revolt had, no doubt, harmed the country. In those days, thinkers about *Dharma* were mainly faced with the question, how to make Vedic *Dharma* strong in all respects and how to change it to suit the times. In so far as the eternal values of life are concerned, it was accepted and insisted upon in *Hindu Dharma* that in order to bring about fullness in our lives we should not hesitate to change with times the means to the attainment of such fullness. Shankaracharya brought new changes while protecting the ancient values. In so doing, he did not harm the soul of the Nation. The external form of *Hindu Dharma* underwent a change but its inner form remained unchanged. In his period there was a strong tendency to bring about harmony between those sects and religious beliefs which gave strength to national feeling. Most of the credit for bringing about such a harmony must go to Shankaracharya. Shankaracharya must also be given credit for the confluence of Karma, Bhakti and Jnyana (action, devotion and knowledge) which was brought about in his time."

The Indian Terminology

While Deendayalji was engaged in his enquiries about conceptions relating to democracy, socialism etc. and their implications, the touch stone by which he judged the merits of these conceptions was the *Bharatiya* values of life. The central idea of his thinking was that the ancient values have to be recalled and redefined again and again in changed situation. As such, he always kept in his mind the ideological conceptions of great men like Shankaracharya, Lokmanya Tilak and Swami Dayanand. A change is moulded by changed circumstances as also, to a great extent, by the sanskaras on mind and intellect. Therefore, while studying the thoughts of Deendayalji it is necessary to analyse his thinking process. Reference to the foregoing has been made only from this point of view. In his book '*Daishik Shastra*', Thuldhariaji has considered the questions relating to patriotism, nationalism, freedom and *Bharat* only in the context of ancient thinking. For example, in the first chapter of the book entitled 'Patriotism', while presenting important points for consideration, reference has been made to the situation prevailing in India. Reference has also been made to the tendency, prevailing in Britain, of sub-serving the interest of the country in disregard of the personal interests. Words like '*Chiti* and '*Virat*' have also been made use of in this context. All this has been done to define the contemporary questions in *Bharatiya* terms in the context of ancient thoughts. Words acquire currency when they are used to express a particular concept. In such concepts, individual and social principles are inherent. It was because of this that Deendayalji once again gave currency to the words, '*Chiti*' and '*Virat*'. Not only this, while accepting the ancient conceptions of reality, he gave new definitions to those old formulations. This was Deendayalji's ideological achievement. It is because of this that in his expositions we again and again come across ancient terms and contexts. Every time when Deendayalji has discussed the Indian situation or the new Western experiments or formulations, he has given evidence of this awareness.

In the Light of '*Chiti*'

For Example, in the November-December, 1950 issue of '*Rashtra Dharma*' (Kartik Poornima Samvat 2007) he wrote an article entitled *Chiti*. In this article Deendayalji had explained in detail the idea of nation's soul and its importance in national reconstruction. This article was written after we became free. It gives us an indication of the direction in which his mind was moving. Independence of India was an incident which ushered a new age. But till the attainment of freedom, a simple equation had become prevalent that patriotism only meant opposition of the British. We proceeded on the presumption that the basic cause of all our economic and other ills was British rule. But nobody thought of giving a constructive and emotional shape to patriotism. But Deedayalji said, "Patriotism is implied in the concept of nation. Why do all of us think about the nation? It is because we have the feeling that the glory of the nation includes our own glory. But are we inspired, in our patriotism, only by such selfish consideration? Had this been so, there would have been no difference between the unity of dacoits and our unity based on selfish interests. Patriotism means getting submerged in the national social entity. Feeling of affinity for such a national social entity is patriotism. Such an affinity is born from the feeling that the individual and the society have a common soul. Like an individual, nation also has a soul. The existence of such a soul makes our nation one. This soul of the nation has been termed '*Chiti*' by our thinkers. Every nation has its own *Chiti*; it is this *Chiti* which is the symbol of nationalism and gives a different identity to the culture of every nation. Literature, art, religion, language are all manifestations of this *Chiti*. Just as all parts of the body remain joined together because of the existence of Atma (soul), in the same way culture, religion, language etc. are related to this national soul.

All draw sustenance from this soul. The social unity formed in a particular society and the collective entity of the society owe their existence to this '*Chiti*. Destruction of *Chiti* results in the fall of the nation. If we want *Bharat* to rise, we shall have to reveal to its people the *Chiti* or the true soul of *Bharat*. We shall not be able to restore the glory of our nation merely by taking recourse to its physical adornment. The objective of constructive patriotism, relevant to the present times, shall have to be pursued by us."

(*Rashtra Dharma*, Kartik Poornima, Samvat 2007, Nos. 3-4)

Virat-the National Active Force

Chiti, the national soul, creates life's active force in a nation. This national active force has been called *Virat* by Panditji. It pulsates in the entire nation and success of democracy depends on it.

Nature, *Dharma* and Culture

The ideology of Deendayalji is based not only on the idea of '*Chiti*' and '*Virat*' but also on his postulates relating to *Dharma*, Nature, culture and concepts of "I" and 'we'. The basic ideology of Deendayalji may be called sociological. However, it is not an ideology akin to the Western sociological ideologies. But the questions he has discussed are social. Nationalism has also been considered by him in the context of culture and *Dharma*. By way of our illustration, one may quote the article written by him under the caption 'Nature, *Dharma* and Culture' in *Panchajanya* (13th July 1959). In this article, 'culture' has been analysed in the following words:

"The individual and the universal, both are related to culture. Culture is basically social in character. It is through culture that the soul of a society manifests itself. Although society is like the all pervading Bhrahma, it has, in every place, an individuality of its own which is manifested through the individual. In the same way, culture is a social quality manifested in each individual comprising a society. According to the *Hindu* thought, individual and society are inseparable entities. According to the *Bharatiya* way of thinking, the existence of individual apart from the society is not conceivable.

"It is the job of culture to bring about harmony between the interests of the society and the individual and to ensure that there is no confrontation between the two. The body, mind and senses of man function according to his nature and follow some rules which are called *Dharma*. When there is violation of these rules or when the individual commits some excess, we call it perversion. It is necessary to avoid such an excess or perversion. This function is performed by *Dharma*. Therefore, it is through *Dharma* that culture functions. *Dharma* holds the society together; rather, the existence of a regulated society is possible only because of *Dharma*. Just as the body of man remains free of disease so long as he follows certain rules of eating and physical exercise etc., in the same way the society functions in an orderly manner through the observance of *Dharma*; the behaviours of individuals with one another become smooth by *Dharma*.

"Thus, *Dharma* has a social content. No individual can create every thing that he needs, on his own. For this he needs the help of others; there has to be a give and take; avoidance of confrontation in mutual behaviour has also to be ensured. It is for this reason that the individual and the social behaviour have to be regulated by *Dharma*. This is called sustenance of society. "Culture performs the function of creating an atmosphere in which the individual is not selfish and behaves in a manner which is not anti-social. This is the second stage of *Dharma*. All human behaviour is not based on self-interest. One has to take into account the interest of others as well. The inspiration to adopt such behaviour comes to the individual from culture."

In substance, Deendayalji considered culture to be a code of individual and social behaviour. Hence, it was in this wider and deeper context that Deendayalji talked of the establishment of *Dharma-rajya* in *Bharat*. It is clear from this that thinking of Deendayalji was basic in approach. He looked at socialism, democracy, humanism etc. from this basic point of view. Hence his analysis of every concept was purely *Bharatiya* in nature. He never accepted a concept only because it was novel nor rejected it because it was foreign. He used to analyse any new idea in his own critical way before drawing conclusions. In this way, Deendayalji was a constructive critic and a creative thinker.

Socialism, Democracy and Humanism

Deendayalji made a critical study of contemporary ideologies from the *Bharatiya* point of view, drew his own conclusions there from and presented them to the people. He was in search of a total philosophy of life, which he later on presented in the form of Integral Humanism. Even before this, however, he had discussed this ideology in the context of socialism, democracy and humanism in *Panchajanya* (2nd January, 1961). Apart from presenting his views on this subject from time to time in the study camps of RSS, he had also invited Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia to speak on socialism and Dr. Lohia did come and spoke on the subject.

Deendayalji used to say, "It has become a fashion with people these days to style themselves as socialists and the political parties vie with one another in adopting the ideology of socialism." Referring to this tendency, Deendayalji had said, "In Europe socialism is prevalent in various forms. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, all used to call themselves socialists. In India also, we have all varieties of socialists. Some leaders talk of giving a *Bharatiya* form to European socialism. In his last days, M.N. Roy gave up socialism and tried to propagate Radical Humanism."

In a different context Swami Vivekanand had also said, "I am a socialist." What inspires every socialist is the sympathy for starving human beings and the desire to give them equal status and dignity. This desire, no doubt, is commendable. It is natural for anybody with a human heart to develop socialistic feelings on seeing pain, suffering, torture, exploitation, hunger, slavery and poverty all around. But socialism does not stop there. It also wants to do away with these miseries, it has analysed poverty and diagnosed the ills. For this, a socialist has to borrow from Marxism. Even those who are opposed to Marxism can not but accept the Marxist analysis. However, the history of the period following the Bolshevik revolution till today has demonstrated that Marxist ideology is not perfect.

Democracy is the first casualty in socialism. Marx has envisaged a classless society. He had also visualised the establishment of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in the transition period. However, in practice the developments took a different turn. The political freedom achieved by man again slipped out of his hands. Prince Kropotkin had clearly admitted, in his letter of 28th April 1919 addressed to workers of Europe, that the communist concept of developing a people's State from out of party dictatorship or iron rule would ultimately remain unrealised.

This failure of Marxist pattern has brought into focus the concept of democratic socialism. But even in a socialist system, the means of production are owned by the State. The State, however, does not want to limit its supremacy to the economic field but tries to attack political rights as well. Thus the guns of socialism are turned towards democracy. Socialism and democracy cannot co-exist, just as a lion and a goat can not live together. The whole thing becomes even more complicated if an attempt is made to take into consideration the cultural and social set up of a society while bringing about economic development. It seems impossible to resolve this complication. This socialist dilemma has also affected capitalism where, in place of socialism, the idea of welfare State has emerged.

The mental capacity to remedy the errors is inherent in a democratic set-up, but the socialist system does not possess such flexibility. The die-hard socialist wants to keep himself away from independent thinking just as the followers of a religion based on blind faith do. The communist dictionary contains a number of abusive epithets for independent thinkers. However, a thinking individual cannot exist in a state of thoughtlessness.

Today, *Bharatiya* socialism gives stress on nationalisation. It is, no doubt, true that in an undeveloped economy government has to keep certain industries under its control; the individual capitalists cannot be given a free hand. Competition has to be put under check. But it is necessary to have a proper balance between the two sectors. Democracy and socialism are two different systems. They are not compatible with each other. According to us, these two concepts are not mutually alternative. Both of these systems are only means and not an end in themselves. It is, therefore, necessary that we first identify our goal and then to choose the approach to achieve it.

Slavery to Machines

If we want to protect humanity, we shall have first to liberate it from the slavery of machines. Today, it is not man who controls the machine; rather, it is the machine which controls man. At the back of this love for machine is man's lust for increasing his needs and satisfying them. Hence, while thinking of human life in its totality, we shall have to take into consideration production, distribution and consumption together. We shall have to develop an economic order (system) wherein production and consumption are both achieved in the context of a meaningful life.

Hinduism is Essential

"Only the *Hindu* philosophy, based on the four-fold objective, comprising *Dharma*, wealth, gratification of senses and liberation, can save us from the present crisis. The solution of world's problems lies in *Hindu*ism and not in socialism. *Hindu*ism is a philosophy which does not tie man down to a single rigid frame. We should not confuse this philosophy of *Hindu*ism with the decadent ritualism. It is also wrong to think that *Hindu*ism is opposed to scientific progress. Science and technology should be used in conformity with our social and cultural life. We shall have to have technology to suit our political, economic, social and ideological needs. Hence, our objectives should be, rule based on *Dharma*, democracy, social equality and economic decentralisation. We need an 'ism' which includes these elements. You may call it by any name, *Hindu*ism or humanism."

This analysis, by Deendayalji, is not negative; it is a concept which can guide us on the right path. Deendayalji judged the economic, social and political events in the light of this principle. Economic planning as also economic thoughts and economic objectives are also included therein. His economic thinking also is concerned about the protection and conservation of human and cultural values. He did not confine himself to economic analysis.

Deendayalji plans to reach beyond communism but by democratic path and without giving up eternal values in life. In his time, the ideological challenge from communism was strong. It was, therefore, necessary for him to lay emphasis on economic policies. Deendayalji's economic thoughts can be found in his treatise entitled 'Economic Policy of *Bharat*: New Direction of Development'. The ideas contained therein are briefly stated below:

In India, *Dharma* regulates life. However, this *Dharma* is not only spiritual in character. Chanakya has said, 'The basis of happiness is *Dharma*. The basis of *Dharma* is Artha.' In other words, happiness should be based on *Dharma*. But *Dharma* can not survive without wealth. Here *Dharma* signifies the system which holds the society together. Wealth should not influence life in a manner that it becomes the end rather than the means of our life. If this happens, man becomes a slave of sense-pleasures and loses his abilities and ideals in life. In such a situation, the values of conduct also undergo a change and there is no longer any insistence on purity of means; conduct is no longer based on *Dharma* and greed for wealth becomes supreme.

While wealth should not hold its sway on our life, at the same time, there should be no shortage of it. The social-status of the man, comfortable maintenance, his political importance and social behaviour are all dependent on wealth. Poverty leads to moral degradation of man. The object of desire of a poor man is only wealth with the result that he loses his balance in life.

It is for this reason that the concept of a balanced economy for *Bharat* has been supported, which would seek to eradicate the dominance of wealth and also the lack or shortage of it. It has been called 'Arthayam'. In order to evolve such an economic system, it would be necessary to change social standards. A social system based on the concept of wealth alone would be undesirable. An economic being will only build a society based on the concept of wealth. Therefore, in principle, the concept of man as an economic being is wrong. A soldier exists only for valour and a seeker of knowledge considers knowledge much above wealth. Valour and knowledge can not be valued in terms of money or labour. The dignity of labour does not depend on the amount of wealth earned by it; rather it depends on the conformity of labour with *Dharma* and the objective of labour. The values in Western and *Bharatiya* philosophy differ from each other in this respect. As such, the Western economic system is not useful for *Bharat*, as the values in the two systems are different and even contradictory to each other. *Bharatiya* values are related to *Dharma*, whereas the Western values are related to economics.

The Influence of Western Economics

It follows, therefore, that *Bharat* should follow a wholly different path for its development. We have been so much influenced by the concepts of Western economists-Marx and Marshall-that we can not come out of their influence! Our economists only follow the Western economic theories. They do not put forward *Bharatiya* economic theory. The idea of Gandhian economy has come before us only in the shape of a movement. The Gandhian thinkers did point out the evils of the Western economic system but they failed to spell out a new *Bharatiya* economic system.

Similarly, there is a large number of economists here who are protagonists of Western economics and have vested interest in Western industrial system. The two are complementary to each other. The planning system adopted by the government is also not *Bharatiya*, with the result that *Bharat* has all along been exploited even after independence. Our industrialists and enterpreneurs are only acting as agents of the Western exploitative system. Our *Swadeshi* movement has only been confined to Khadi cap, whereas everything else is foreign.

Criticism of Planning

Deendayalji's criticism of *Bharatiya* planning system was always important. Criticising the 2nd Five Year Plan he had said, "The 2nd Plan is basically non-*Bharatiya*. It has not taken into consideration the special features of *Bharatiya* social system. Economic reconstruction is not a castle to be built in the air. Self-reliance should be the basic concept of our planning. The industrial development of one part of the world cannot be imposed on some other part. We should have our own concept about agriculture and industry. Instead of importing technology we should invent a new technology which suits our situation. We need a technology which would provide for total employment and would remove the disparity in incomes. By so doing, we shall be able to raise the standard of living of the people. Modern technology in the West is also being developed along these lines. But the 2nd Five Year Plan here is based on pre-recession technology and economic concepts." (Organiser, 29th September 1958).

In this article Deendayalji has also suggested changes in the procedure of planning and in the structure of the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. It was his view that "the period of the Plan should be increased. The stages of development in the 2nd Plan should be changed. The Plan consists of many development projects which are indivisible. Any reduction in such projects is not only harmful but also-difficult. Many a time, there is a shortage of funds which necessitates change in priorities of development. It is, therefore, not possible to confine a plan to a five year period. Economic development is a continuous process and, therefore, plans for economic development cannot be confined to the fixed limits of time. Fixation of goals leads to higher plan-expenditure. Non-achievement of goals leads to disappointment. Moreover, the Five Year Plans in India are linked with elections which are held after every five years. If the period of the plans is changed, then it would be possible to get the cooperation and participation of the people. The government should not make it a question of prestige and should accept this change. The discussions held in the National Development Council in May last were devoid of realism and a sense of responsibility. In *Bharat*, planning is not based on commitment and a sense of responsibility; it has become a political tool. Hence, first of all, it is necessary to reorganise the Planning Commission. The composition of the National Development Council should also be changed. Planning should reach the village level.

There must be all-party advisory councils. The plan should be directly based on actual economic condition and not on a particular "ideology". In this article, Deendayalji also mentioned the fact that in the guiding principles of the plan for economic development prepared by the British in 1948, the factual political as well as economic situation were both taken into consideration.

National Objectives of *Bharatiya* Economic System

What should be the objectives of the *Bharatiya* economic system? Discussing this question Deendayalji had stated, "Our country has achieved independence after a long effort. Therefore, we should provide for a system which would protect this freedom. This should be our first goal. Secondly, we should not adopt economic planning which would endanger or obstruct our democratic system. Our third goal is with reference to our cultural values which are not only very useful for our own national life but also useful for the entire world. As such, these values have to be protected. If we achieve economic affluence after losing our cultural values then such affluence would prove useless. Our fourth goal should be to acquire the military capability for self-defence.The fifth goal should be economic self-reliance. A nation which is economically dependent on another nation loses its self-respect. A nation without self-respect can never protect its freedom. For protecting political freedom, it is necessary to have economic freedom. For economic freedom, economic self-reliance is a pre-requisite. The sixth goal is an economic order wherein a job is ensured to everyone in the same way as the right to vote is ensured to every adult. Minimum wages suitable for the job, fair earning and their fair distribution is also necessary in the interest of society. For this, it is necessary to provide a ceiling on incomes. Freedom of consumption cannot be allowed to remain unlimited. The industrialists interpret individual freedom or individual enterprise to mean their own freedom. We do not want the freedom of a few Tatas and Birlas; we want freedom for the millions of human beings. Therefore, we are opposed to centralisation. In the capitalist system real individual freedom gradually disappears and economic power gets concentrated in the hands of a handful of persons. In the socialist system this power becomes a part of the State power and is ultimately wielded by the bureaucracy, with the result that human life is reduced to being a machine. In both the systems man is considered only to be a means and not a human being. Therefore, we shall have to free ourselves from the hold of both, socialism and capitalism and adopt humanism. Technology should also be utilised for the benefit of man. For this, it is necessary to have a decentralised economic system. Man can be developed only when he is provided with suitable work after duly taking into consideration his needs and his qualities. This is possible only in a decentralised economic system. Once a big industrial unit is set up, it can not be closed down without giving due thought to many considerations. Hence, it is necessary to think about these points before taking the next step. In substance, defence, total employment, provision of the basic needs of man and decentralisation are the goals of the economic system envisaged by *Jana Sangh*.

In substance, it may be said that the thinking of Deendayalji was fundamental as well as analytical and integral. He wanted to develop a system which would sustain both the material as well as the spiritual aspects of human life. It may be said that the sum and substance of Deendayalji's thinking was to have value-based principles, commitment to values and a social and individual way of life which would preserve the values in life.

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Deendayal : The Party-Organiser

Deendayalji was a theorist of *Jana Sangh*. In the previous chapter we have already discussed his qualities as an original thinker. In 1952 he became the General Secretary of *Jana Sangh*. He earned the confidence of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji. The task of setting up the party-organisation was entrusted to him. This was a new field of work for him and was a challenge to his abilities. However, after having worked for 13 years in the RSS, he had already imbibed in himself the qualities of an able organiser.

Jana Sangh was founded in 1951, four years after independence. Power was in the hands of the Congress. However, Congress had never been organised as a political party. It had all along been a movement. In a democracy it is necessary that any party must also have workers who accept the discipline of the party. The party prepares its programmes in accordance with its ideals and the workers are required to go to the people with that programme. Although the Congress Party had styled itself as a party with certain ideals and had also drawn up a programme, yet it did not possess a suitable organisation and the required workers. Its style of functioning was to come together for contesting elections and, after winning power, to compete with one another in the distribution of that power and indulge in the game of power-politics. For a number of years, Congress continued to derive benefit from the credit earned for it by Gandhiji. Therefore, Nehru's popularity served as an asset for winning elections. The Congress Party never underwent an idealistic change. Persons from the market place can never become party workers. Hence Congress Party became an instrument for acquiring power. This was the beginning of its degeneration. In order to acquire power, it started to foment narrow loyalties based on caste, language, religion, region etc. It adopted the policy of appeasement of religious minorities. There were persons who became brokers of the vote-banks of these minorities. The government had lost contact with the people with the result that the democracy had now come to be understood as one-party democracy. With this, the cult of personality also became the order of the day. People in the country started following individuals rather than principles. Congressmen well understood the importance of personality cult for acquiring power. It became a practice with them to please Nehru but continue in their evil ways. A new cult of holding political courts was started. The voters were reduced to the position of silent spectators for the intervening period of five years after every election. This was democracy in a degenerated form.

Things had come to such a pass, mainly because there was no purposeful opposition party in the country. In a democracy, it is necessary for the common man to inculcate certain qualities. Otherwise, democracy does not succeed. The Indian society had not progressed in this respect and consequently, politics became the means of serving personal and caste interests. We failed to realise that for the success of democracy different qualities were required than those that had been developed during the freedom struggle. So, though democracy arrived, we failed to develop the requisite qualities to run it. No attempt was ever made by any one to develop such qualities in our society. Character is important in social behaviours as it is in private behaviour. Honesty is as much social as a personal virtue. Politics, ultimately, is a form of social behaviour and for conducting politics, virtues like honesty and self-discipline are necessary. The Congress Party never tried to develop these virtues.

On the contrary, it exploited the existing diversities and rivalries in the society to acquire power.

Deendayalji's concept of the party

Deendayal Upadhyaya had definite views about what a political party should be. He used to say, "Political parties of India today have several shortcomings. As a political party, the standard of the Congress Party is the lowest. These days political parties are not orgnaised with some fixed objective. They are formed on individual or group considerations. Idealism alone is of no use; idealism must be linked with national interest. The communists do have an ideal but those ideal strikes at the very root of democracy. A disciplined party and a dedicated and patriotic leadership are greatly needed today. A free press, independent judiciary and a clean and efficient administration are the prerequisites of a successful democracy. In a democracy, there are bound to be more than one political party but all parties must follow a code of conduct of panchasheel. Defections should not be encouraged. Then only can we have a stable administration in the country and see the end of irresponsible politics." (Organiser, 27th February, 1961)

Regarding the role of *Jana Sangh*, Deendayalji had stated in 1956, "We have to bring about economic and social revolution in our country through peaceful means. But for this, the present 'family-leadership' is not useful; it is afraid of being dislodged from power in the event of such a revolution being successful and, consequently, it has abandoned the path of the forward march of idealism. Moreover, all these leaders are of a particular age group. In fact, we are faced with a conflict between the old and new generation. To be frank, only such conflicts lead to progress. We are fully aware of the fact that the present day old leaders would never extend their support to revolution.

The workers of *Jana Sangh* are anxious to create a new leadership. *Jana Sangh* wants to provide a new leadership to the country. But the old ways of creating leadership will have to be changed. The method of demonstrative politics will not be desirable for this. As such, we shall have to abandon all the wrong ways and adopt the correct path which will take us to our goal. Slogans, processions etc. are intoxicating. They can not help in the emergence of new leadership. Let the leadership emerge on its own; it is no use to prop it up by artificial means.

"Therefore, for the success of democracy and also in the interest of our own party, we should keep the common man before us. The common man may appear to be a simpleton but in fact, he is quite intelligent. He is more valorous than the valiant. I want *Jana Sangh* to be a party of such common men."

(*Jana Sangh* Special Issue-Organiser, 1956).

A new field altogether

In a sense, the attempt of *Jana Sangh* to organise the *Bharatiya* people on the basis of a democratic discipline and idealism in addition to party loyalty, was the first of its kind. The method adopted by communists was to set up people's organisation by inciting public opinion and taking recourse to agitations. Their method consisted of harsh individual discipline, study and social discontentment instead of purity of individual conduct and a sense of social morality. The special feature of the communist style of functioning was to intoxicate the people with the idea of revolution and to induce them to work and make sacrifices out of addiction to this opiate. Their expression of such intoxicated madness used to be through exciting language. This communist style of functioning has acquired universal form.

The communists do not insist on purity of conduct and purity of means. Gandhiji conducted a good number of satyagraha movements but such movements failed to produce on a large scale, people dedicated to life-long service of the society and an organisation consisting of such people. Congress was and still is, a party of power seekers. If a democratic administrative system is to be run for people's benefit, then a large number of such workers will be needed in the political field who are not corrupt and who are dedicated to public service. Deendayalji himself was such a worker. He had acquired the experience of creating workers during his life in the RSS. Now he had to create such workers in the political field where qualities of gentlemanly and meritorious behaviour were at stake. During the freedom struggle, people were often filled with incitement for fighting with the enemy. Such a situation, which induces people to make sacrifices and to observe purity of conduct, is also intoxicating. But in a democracy political workers have to first fight their internal enemies e. g. sensual desires, anger, greed, temptation for popularity etc. Sant Tukaram aptly expressed this by saying, "Day and night I am involved in a struggle going on within my mind and in the outside world". This is a struggle which goes on all the time and never ceases. Deendayalji had to create workers for *Jana Sangh* who would first fight these internal enemies.

Deendayalji's conception of an ideal worker was that firstly he should possess the twin qualities of being able to function with malice towards none and should be a friend, teacher and well-wisher of the people. He used to say, "Let the national outlook of *Jana Sangh* spread all around so that our opponent of today becomes our voter tomorrow, our voter of tomorrow should be our member day after tomorrow and our member of day after tomorrow should become our active worker next day." Another quality of an ideal worker was that he should have a feeling of affection for the down-trodden and a social commitment. Thirdly, the ideal worker was expected to work for a social change.

Deendayalji was determined to create workers for *Jana Sangh* and build up its organisation on the basis of the threefold concept mentioned above.

Systematic study

Like Samartha Ramdas, Deendayalji believed in deep study of any subject undertaken and that a subject should be studied in all its aspects. Having been entrusted with the responsibility of drafting the constitution and the programme of *Jana Sangh*, he studied the constitutions and styles of functioning of various political parties of the world. While keeping in view his own concept of *Jana Sangh*, he also tried to incorporate the good features of other parties. The Congress method of collecting funds did not appeal to him. He decided to avoid it. The communist practice of organising Study Camps, however, did appeal to him. He also thought that the RSS practice of Guru Dakshina (offering to the preceptor), based on spontaneous sacrifice by the common worker, was worth following. The practice of having Organising Secretaries also appealed to him and was adopted. This would ensure that organisational set up of the party remained unchanged in the event of a new president being elected. Like Gandhiji, Deendayalji also insisted on participation by Harijans and women in organisational matters and got the relevant provision incorporated in the constitution of *Jana Sangh*.

Cadre-based Party

Deendayalji was a leader who maintained personal contacts with thousands of party workers. His mind was always with the workers but his own thinking was ahead of them. It would not be wrong to describe him as a grass-root leader.

Deendayalji was engaged in a grand experiment in setting up the party organisation. His main idea was that a worker should develop into a leader who keeps in constant touch with people and carries on a dialogue with them. He was instrumental in bringing prestige to the party. A detailed account of his work in this regard has been given by Shri B.N. Jog in his book 'Politics for Nation's Sake' as following: "Deendayalji had an independent mind and was quite independent in his thinking. Freedom was his internal energy which manifested itself in every step he took and in every word he spoke. Naturally, he always insisted that party policy, State policy or for that matter, National policy should not be formulated under any pressure. Indeed, his aim was to acquire power and to implement welfare schemes but for achieving this he did not want to create middlemen between the people and the administrative machinery. Rather, he wanted to achieve this aim through workers who were committed to the people, to the party, to principles and to the nation. He could not conceive of people's welfare through the medium of bureaucracy. He wanted to build up a cadre of workers and change the face of the country with their help. He believed that Congress being in power was like Duryodhana being in power. He wanted to change the situation in the country with the help of workers and the co-operation of the people. Party, politics and acquisition of power were merely the means of achieving that aim.

"Deendayalji wanted the candidates for election and the party workers to be dedicated to public service. He wanted them to be disciplined party workers and work for the party with single-minded devotion. These days (and even in those days) the Congress worker has become broker for getting done people's work from the government. It appears that their guiding principle is to grab whatever they can and to distribute it between them and the bureaucracy on fifty-fifty basis. This is the feeling that is being created all around as a result of such conduct. Deendayalji's conception of selfless worker was such that a worker should cleanse the cesspool of corruption. Collection of election fund in large sums leads to the prevalence of corruption from top to bottom. He insisted on election funds being collected only from such people who believed that *Jana Sangh* should achieve power and its aim, only by following the policies accepted by it.

"While moulding workers he was very careful. He did not want workers to consider castes in their daily life. Not only this, he always insisted that candidates for elections should not be selected and constituency should not be allocated to them on caste considerations. His main insistence was on the qualifications of the candidate rather than on his caste and community and on his being suitable in all respects. Once, while insisting on this, he had cited the example of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Dr. Lohia was not selected as a candidate for a constituency in Uttar Pradesh simply because Dr. Lohia did not belong to the community which was in predominance in that constituency.

"However, Deendayalji's workers were always mindful of their work and of the type of *Bharat* that they wanted to create in the future. He never let them go out of control. Those of his workers who were not used to such strict discipline would question him in many ways. To them he used to say, by way of advice, "Convert this anger of your into work. Take your restlessness to the people". He used to advance a number of arguments in support of this advice and would tell them by way of an example that, at one time, even Tilak had been accused by the British as 'creator of political unrest', but that accusation, in fact, proved to be the description of his virtue. After Tilak (fifty years later), Deendayalji proved himself to be the creator of the unrest against Congress."

Party-What it should be

Although *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* was politically inexperienced, yet it had a political vision. Deendayalji not only gave a philosophy and set up its organisational structure as a political party; he also provided it with a conception about itself. He gave practical shape to these conceptions. Those days, Shri M.N. Roy was expounding the philosophy of partyless politics. He wanted to introduce politics based on humanism. He used to say that he wanted the politics of power to be replaced by politics of freedom. He wanted to prove that politics could be practiced without aspiring for power.

Such thinking was quite in order as an ideal dream. Deendayalji's conception about the party was also, in a way, fanciful. Even so, it had an element of effort and achievement. "Which party is good? A party is not merely a collection of people; rather, it should be a group of people who are actuated not merely by the desire of acquiring power, but by the desire of achieving a specified goal. For the members of such parties, political power is not merely an end but a means of achieving its goals; they are endowed with a strong sense of dedication. It is only this feeling which brings discipline. Discipline does not consist of mere observance of certain strict rules imposed from outside. Discipline can be lasting only when it is self-inspired, instead of being imposed from above. Discipline has the same place in the party which *Dharma* has in society. If there is a sense of dedication, devotion and discipline in the party, then there could be no groupism in it. Groupism starts only when personal interest is given predominance over party-interest. Groupism is a social manifestation of distorted and ego-centric tendency. A party becomes ineffective if it is beset with groupism. The third quality required in a party is that it should be set up for achieving specific objectives. The style of functioning and the policies of the party should be formulated in accordance with those objectives. Opportunism is not consistent with this.

Insistence on commitment to the objective is the virtue of principled persons, not of opportunist and indiscreet people. Political parties and their leaders evolve life-values by their direct behaviour. The rules of social conduct emerge from such values. Their policies must be based on these values. Democracy does not merely mean the holding of elections. Democracy requires a well organised people. Only a well organised political party, working for some objectives, can create good political traditions."

(Organiser, 11th December, 1961)

Two wings of a political party

Deendayalji had conceived *Jana Sangh* to be a disciplined, dedicated and well-organised political party. He had said, "We have to show that *Jana Sangh* is different from other parties. There is no dearth of parties in our country which give up principles for achieving power. We also, most certainly, aspire for power and shall achieve it without fail; but our aim is even beyond it. We shall never give up that aim."

(Speech in Vijayawada Conference-January 1965)

After Independence, political parties had formulated plans for development and used them in elections. The Congress Party drafted the Five Year Plan. The entire government machinery was harnessed for its implementation. In this way, politics acquired a new dimension of development. The Legislatures started passing laws in the interest of people. It was necessary to keep a close watch on these activities. As a result, workers elected as representatives of the people came to constitute a separate section in the political life of the country. However, all the workers of a party could not have become members of legislatures or Parliament; some workers are also needed to look after the party-organisation. As the legislatures and the Parliament functioned in collaboration with the government, they acquired a certain prestige in the government and the society. This, naturally, led to the generation of bitterness and rivalry within each party. The people's representatives got an upper hand. Since the Congress workers had forgotten that power was to be, used for only public service, the party was divided into two factions. The prestige and honour, which came with power, filled them with arrogance. Deendayalji had been careful from the beginning to ensure that such quarrels did not take place in *Jana Sangh* and to ensure that the workers did not lose sense of public service. A political party has two wings consisting of legislators and constructive workers respectively. Workers of both kinds should have equal prestige. Both should work with the mission of public service. Deendayalji wished both the types of workers to be complementary to each other. The constructive workers should perform the function of keeping the legislators posted with the problems of the society because they are in a position to maintain constant contact with the people and so they have first hand knowledge of the sorrows and sufferings of the people in the society. It should be the duty of the legislators to place these problems before the government and make efforts to get them solved. On the other hand, it was the duty of the constructive workers to take the policy and programme of the party to the people. Deendayalji always made the two wings aware of their respective functions. As a result, *Jana Sangh* never lost sight of its objective of reconstruction.

Deendayalji himself used to study many of the problems of the people. He also insisted on the workers and leaders of the party to undertake such studies. He used to assign to various members different subjects for study. For example, he entrusted the work of studying agriculture and farming to Nanaji Deshmukh. He also organised training camps for political workers. In these and other camps, the different ideologies prevalent in the country were also studied. On many occasions specialists were also invited to address the workers.

Deendayalji laid stress on raising the qualitative standard of the workers. He always placed before the workers rules of conduct required to be observed by them. The first rule was for every one to bear in mind that the interest of the country was above the interest of the party. The second rule was that workers should have a sense of commitment for the programmes and policies of the party rather than for individuals. Thirdly, even though objectives, principles and ideology are important for a political party, the secret of enduring success is the service of the people. The fourth rule required the workers to be devoted to the ideals. It was because Congress Party abandoned idealism that it fell a prey to opportunism and succumbed to temptation. *Jana Sangh* had not merely to dislodge the Congress Party from power; it also had to provide to the country a new ideal and a new political culture. The culture, which was known as Congress Culture, was eating at the roots of democracy. This culture was a perversion of democracy. He placed before the workers the goal of rebuilding culture. For achieving this, Deendayalji offered many constructive suggestions and tried to create such models. He always insisted on politics being culture based. He used to guide the workers on these lines. Although *Jana Sangh* had several presidents, Deendayal was the only person who continued to guide the workers from 1951 to 1968 like a light house. He also insisted that there should be no personal animosity in politics; the leader of an opposition party should not indulge in spitting fire, causing harassment and opposing for the sake of opposition. He himself was soft spoken and wanted the workers also to be sweet of speech. He had personal relations with many leaders of opposite political ideologies including senior ones like Rajaji. Deendayalji was firm in his belief and always insisted on what he believed. Even so, he was a gentletman and had a sweet disposition. He used to say, "*Jana Sangh* wants to properly present its belief. It, therefore, gives more importance to abiding relations than to immediate opposition."

Multi-party Politics

Deendayalji was of the view that *Bharat* will ultimately have a multi-party system. In democracy there should not only be more than one political party, but also parties propagating different ideologies; there should be a healthy competition among these parties. Defection should not be encouraged; however, a person should be free to leave a party if objectives of that party do not appeal to him. Those who defect out of lure of power do not do so in pursuit of any ideal. In view of all this, India should evolve its own independent political system. The British type of two party system would not be successful in our country. We should have a system which suits us. Only then it will be possible for us to give to our country a stable government and check the shameless race for power. It is for this reason that Deendayalji insisted on there being a code of conduct for political parties. He was of the view that Congress should set an example of good conduct. But the Congress Party was incapable of setting such an example. The groups that had gone out of the Congress, as also some individuals, were setting up new political parties. Hence it was the Congress Party and groups of ex-Congressmen who were looming on the political horizon of the country. Deendayalji had suggested that political parties with well-defined objectives should conduct the political affairs of the country on moral lines. Similarly he suggested that agitations organised for getting government policies changed, should also be in accordance with a code of conduct as the government is committed to a political party; its decisions benefit only that particular party. The opposition parties have always to take recourse to organise dharnas to ventilate the grievances of the people. As political parties organise agitations to highlight the grievance of the people, the government should pay immediate attention to such problems. It is indeed unfortunate for the country that recourse has to be taken to *satyagraha*, *gherao* and hunger strike to get the problems solved during the period intervening two elections. The government's carelessness in regard to these

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grievances creates the impression that it bends only when it is confronted with *satyagraha*. In view of this, Deendayalji had suggested that a way shall have to be found which is acceptable to all. It was wrong to come out with the threat to change the government on small issues. The major problems should be taken to the people at the time of elections and the small problems should be dealt with on an all party basis and there should be machinery for this latter.

"Political parties are categorised as being "leftist" and "rightist" because we think in Western ways. This categorisation does not convey a correct picture of the *Bharatiya* political scene. We proceed on the presumption that all parties can be classified into two such classes-"leftist" and "rightist". According to this division, Congress becomes a leftist party as it has accepted socialism. But facts are different. Congress is helped by capitalists. On the other hand *Jana Sangh* is considered a rightist party, because it has not adopted socialism as such. But its programmes and workers want to bring about far greater changes than the so-called radicals.

"Another way of classification will depend on wherefrom a party's idealism is imported. According to this, Congress, communists and socialists will fall in a single class, as all these are trying to implant foreign ideologies here. They do not consider the *Bharatiya* values and circumstances.

"Another categorisation is also possible. This consists of pro-changers and anti-changers. For example, Ram *Rajya* Parishad represents an ideology which is archaic and non-changeable. It is against all social and economic changes. As against this, *Jana Sangh*, like Swami Dayanand and Lokmanya Tilak, is desirous of bringing about social and economic changes while protecting our eternal values and ancient philosophy."

The foregoing is the analysis of contemporary political party system and their categorisation as conceived by Deendayalji.

Mass contact and propagation of ideology

It was always held by Deendayalji that *Jana Sangh* was not

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merely a party but a national movement. He wanted the *Jana Sangh* to have an identity of a party working for all round development of the nation and having an ideology based on *Bharatiya* culture. *Jana Sangh* was not a party established merely out of political expediency for achieving power. Hence, he wanted *Jana Sangh* to be recognised by the people not merely as a political party but as a national movement for basic change. For this reason, he always stressed that *Jana Sangh* should adopt the policy of setting up its maximum number of candidates to contest elections and try to secure as many votes as possible. According to him, in this manner the *Jana Sangh* ideology could be presented before the people. Another method of propagating the ideology of *Jana Sangh* was to agitate on regional questions and he used to advise the workers to launch small agitations on people's problems. His main aim in this was to have mass contact and mass education.

Democracy within the party

Deendayalji's style of functioning was one of free and full discussion with workers. As such, in the meetings he would ask the workers to have their say and would listen to them. No doubt, he placed forward his own views in these meetings. But he also listened to criticism. Several examples of this style of functioning can be cited. For example, even though he himself was a vegetarian, he was of the view that fish should be recognised as a supplementary food and that government should provide for the increased production of fish. In the same way, he opposed prohibition even though he himself did not consume liqour. He was of the view that the evil consequences of prohibition would far exceed the benefits therefrom. Even so, on such matters, he always encouraged the workers to express their views freely. In the same way he had got the concept of Integral Humanism freely discussed.

Insistence on Basic Ideals - Two examples

While Deendayalji was soft-spoken and open minded as a party-organiser, he was very strict in his insistence on ideals. He often said that discipline can not be imposed on a political party from above. A conduct conforming to the ideal was also part of party-discipline. It was very important for the workers to conduct themselves in accordance with the ideals of *Jana Sangh*. We give here two instances of how Deendayalji insisted on principles and enforced discipline. In 1953 *Jana Sangh* had proposed abolition of Zamindari system without paying any compensation. Those days the jagirdars and zamindars were dominating the political scene in Rajasthan. Hence, there five, out of total eight *Jana Sangh* legislators, favoured the zamindars and jagirdars and defied the stand taken by *Jana Sangh* on the abolition issue. Deendayalji, without any hesitation, expelled those legislators from the party. In the second incident he compelled the then President of *Jana Sangh* Pt. Maulichand Sharma to leave the party, as it was suspected that he was collaborating with Nehruji and was about to reach a settlement with him. Ultimately, he did join Congress. The workers had moved a reasolution against him and forced him to quit the post of party president. Deendayalji never tolerated any variance between principles and practice.

A new direction to Labour Movement

The labour movement in *Bharat* was controlled by the communists, Congress and other leftist parties. If *Jana Sangh* was to make an impact on the country,' with its ideology,' it was necessary for it to influence all the peasants, the workers, the students and women. Deendayalji was quite conscious of this need. For this purpose he held discussions with Shri Dattopant Thengadi in 1955. Both had been inspired by Shri Guruji of RSS. So, both had common views. In the discussion, some conclusions were reached. The first conclusion was that it was necessary to have a labour organisation which was not influenced by political parties, which was conscious of the real interests of workers and was rooted in national and cultural traditions of *Bharat*. Only then it would be possible to defeat the capitalist and the communist systems in a decisive manner. As such, Deendayalji was of the view that the trade unions must be liberated from the influence of political parties and opportunism and it was necessary to immediately organise such a labour organisation at the national level. In his discussion with Shri Thengadi he arrived at the following guidelines for setting up such an organisation :

1. The proposed labour organisation should rise above class considerations and should adopt a national outlook.
2. The labour movement should be liberated from the influence of anti-*Bharatiya* Capitalist and authoritarian elements.
3. The workers engaged in the labour movement should provide emotional leadership and should, at the same time, be careful about protecting the basic interests of the labour movement. For example, there should be the right of association and a minimum living wage with assurance of a proportional increase with rising prices. There should be security of services, workers should have the right of employment, of participation in management and of a share in the profits and should also have the right to strike if all other methods fail.
4. A sense of service and sacrifice together with a sense of responsibility towards the country and the industry should be inculcated among the workers.
5. All the trade unions should be joined together in a National Federation which should be kept free from all political influence.

(Article by Manhar Mehta, 'Vivek'-24th July, 1983).

Women's wing

Jana Sangh also organised its women's front for separately working for women. Deendayalji was of the view that in politics women should be given importance like men. Their co-operation for building the nation should also be sought. It has been the tradition of *Bharatiya* women to work shoulder to shoulder with the head of the family. If those engaged in the political field did not pay attention to women, to their problems and to their potentiality, it would amount to neglecting one half of our society. We cannot afford to show such neglect in the course of building a new *Bharat*. Hence, he paid attention to the setting up of a women's front in the *Jana Sangh*. The women's front of *Jana Sangh* has taken a leading part not only in the constructive programmes but also in the agitational programmes of *Jana Sangh*.

Propaganda and Publicity

Jana Sangh laid stress on enlarging personal and regional relations. In view of the powerful propaganda of the Congress Party, every one doubted whether it would be possible for *Jana Sangh* to catch people's attention. But *Jana Sangh* was successful in spreading its wings all over the country with devotion, continued hard work and through personal relations. It was successful in achieving quick political publicity under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji. Dr. Mookherji used to joke that Pandit Nehru was working as a good propagandist for *Jana Sangh*, for he was always making direct charges against *Jana Sangh* which automatically made *Jana Sangh* well-known. Some weekly journals like 'Organiser' and some daily papers were also helpful in propagating *Jana Sangh*. When *Jana Sangh* members were elected to Lok Sabha it had the benefit of forceful speakers like Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee who advocated the *Jana Sangh* point of view before the people. Deendayalji himself used to write a political diary in the 'Organiser'. This diary was, in a way, his ideological discourse to the workers and the people and was useful in propagating the *Jana Sangh* ideology and its views on current issues. Processions were a speciality of *Jana Sangh*. The agitations on national and regional issues were also very useful propaganda. *Jana Sangh* fought elections in spite of unfavourabe circumstances between 1952 to 1967 but established itself as a party with a distinct ideology.

In the very first election, *Jana Sangh* had secured 31 percent votes all over the country. Hence it was recognised by the Election Commission as an All India Party. It must be accepted that the votes polled by *Jana Sangh* in the elections during subsequent 16 years were an indication of its increasing political influence. In all this propaganda and expansion, Deendayalji's contribution was very large. The political circles in Delhi were conscious of the national thinking of *Jana Sangh*. Ideological influence does not depend on the number of votes alone. The novelty, the peculiarity and depth of thoughts are also important. *Jana Sangh* had not only earned political prestige as a representative of the nationalist point of view, it also came to be known as a stable pole in *Bharatiya* politics. This must be regarded as the fruit of *Jana Sangh* propaganda and influence. The ideal of party organisation set up by Deendayalji was not only an ideal for the *Jana Sangh* party but for entire *Bharatiya* politics. The guiding principle of Deendayalji was that only a disciplined party could provide a disciplined administration.

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Mass Movement

After Independence, the relation between the Government and the masses in *Bharat* became similar to that between a guardian and a ward. The only difference in this case was that the guardian was elected after every five years. The rules regulating the conduct of government have been laid down in the Constitution. However, the mentality of people undergoes a change after they come to power. They succumb to temptations and are disposed to be tyrannical. In such an eventuality, the opposition parties exercise a restraining influence.

Deendayalji had a stand of his own about the movements by the opposition parties against government. He was of the view that recourse should be taken only to meetings, demonstrations and representations and these should be made more effective. The government should not allow the situation to deteriorate by unnecessarily disregarding the demands of the people expressed through these demonstrations etc. This was the first principle of his thinking in this regard.

The second principle was that in an independent country the occasion to launch movements and agitations need not arise. The fact that people are compelled to resort to agitations only proves that the Government has not learnt to respect public opinion and the democratic system. The agitations were not a creed of *Jana Sangh* but, should necessity arise, it would certainly use them as a weapon though under compulsion.

Cult of Violence and Agitations

"Instead of understanding the sentiments of the people and acting accordingly, the Government tries to suppress the agitations and the people. It feels that it can save its prestige only by suppressing these agitations and, consequently, takes recourse to repressions. This leads to growing discontent amongst people against the Government. This discontent may bring some immediate gains to Opposition Parties but, ultimately, it has a very adverse and deleterious effect on the political life of the country. When a government resorts to repressions in order to suppress people's agitations, the people take recourse to violence. It does not behove the government to use such methods. It is, therefore, necessary that Administration and all the Opposition Parties should put their heads together and find ways whereby people's grievances could be heard and redressed." (Gujarati weekly-Sadhna, 11th January, 1959).

Movement against Corruption

Deendayalji always supported launching of movements and agitations by *Jana Sangh* for the eradication of corruption and misrule permanently in State administration. An agitation was launched in 1959 against the Communist Government of Kerala as it had become necessary to show, through a mass-movement, how much injustice was being perpetrated by the government there. Whereas, the corruption prevailing in the Congress Party is due to the interests of individuals, the corruption of the communists is organised corruption and indulged in at party level. The communists aim at establishing their party dictatorship. Deendayalji's views in this regard were published in an interview which appeared in the Organiser dated 15th August, 1959. He spoke in similar terms at a reception organised at Delhi and had said, "It is a person's fundamental right to agitate against corruption and anti-people rule." In Uttar Pradesh, *Jana Sangh* had started a satyagraha movement in support of the four demands of the famine-stricken people of that province. The demands were: realisation of land revenue in famine affected areas should be suspended, fair price shop should be opened at every place with a population of five thousand, students in famine affected areas should be given exemption from paying tuition fees and those who were wholly indigent should be given foodgrains free of cost. In the context of this agitation, Deendayalji had highlighted the difference that existed between the movements launched by other parties and *Jana Sangh* and had said, "The Praja Socialist Party had started the programme of taking over government godowns. But in such programmes there is every possibility of spreading anarchy in the province. Therefore, *Jana Sangh* has launched the programme of 'gherao'. Government employees should be gheroed and should be prevented from entering their offices. This activity is a part of the programme. Our aim in starting this movement is to bring to the notice of the government the urgent need of solving the problem of food supply. Our aim is not to establish a parallel government." (Gujarati weekly-Sadhna, 28th September, 1958).

Nation-wide Movement

Jana Sangh launched two types of movements, one on national questions and the other on regional questions. Deendayalji was of the view that movements started on national issues create a feeling of unity and awareness about national questions. Unfortunately such movements lead to confrontation due to the policy of government. The government considers those movements to be conspiracy against it. But Deendayalji considered them to be the vehicles of creative revolutions. However, he was of the specific view that such movements should not become violent and aggressive.

Kashmir-movement

In the early years i.e. during the first five years *Jana Sangh* launched two national movements. The first was against the anti-*Bharat* rule of Sheikh Abdullah in Kashmir and the second was for the liberation of Goa. Opposing Sheikh Abdullah, required great political courage because he enjoyed the support of Nehruji which had turned his head. *Jana Sangh* and the Praja Parishad of Jammu showed much courage in opposing him. The movement achieved great heights under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji and also acquired great strength. Dr. Mookherji started criticising Nehru bitterly on the Kashmir question since October, 1951. Addressing a meeting in Delhi he said, "Nehruji says that he is prepared to fight a war with Pakistan on the Kashmir question. But it is *Jana Sangh* against which he has started a war. He talks of war for Kashmir. Then what is he waiting for? He used to say that the loss of even one square foot of land in Kashmir could be the cause of war. But already we have lost one third of the Kashmir territory to Pakistan. What is Nehruji doing about it? The fact is that Nehru wants to do nothing. Pakistan is setting up military bases. What has Nehruji done in reply to this?" (Organiser, 8th October, 1951). Before this, *Jana Sangh* had celebrated Kashmir-day all over the country and had, in this way, drawn the attention of the people to this question. It was *Jana Sangh* which created awareness about the Kashmir question all over the country. Thousands of people offered *Satyagraha* in Jammu and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah put thousands of *Jana Sangh* workers in the jail and 14 persons were shot down. (Article by Prof. Madhok- Organiser, 22nd October, 1958). Dr. Mookherji also became martyr in this struggle and the people felt as if the life-force of *Jana Sangh* had gone out. Later on Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and thus it was established that the movement of *Jana Sangh* was justified.

Goa Liberation Movement

Deendayalji's insistence on the principle of 'one country one culture' was fully evident in the Goa liberation movement. In 1947 India had been liberated from the British rule but the Portugese continued to rule Goa. For four centuries Goa had been under the influence of Christian religion. However, basically it has always been rooted in *Hindu* Culture. The culture of Goa is not a Church culture or Catholic culture but the *Hindu* culture of Shanta Durga and Mangesh. Naturally, therefore, the *Jana Sangh* workers joined the Goa liberation movement in great numbers and with great zeal. Bidding farewell to a band of *Satyagrahis* Deendayalji had said, "The programme of the

Goa liberation movement is a part of our movement for achieving *Akhand Bharat*." These words of his are very expressive.

Opposition to Cooperative Farming

The General Executive of *Jana Sangh* decided to launch a country-wide propaganda campaign against the resolution on cooperative farming and ownership of Panchayati land passed by the Congress. The resolution had been passed at the Nagpur Session of the Congress Party. Deendayalji was of the view that this resolution or the concept of cooperative farming was not democratic. He had expressed the fear that cooperative farming would destroy the democratic institutions of village life. It was his contention that farming is a family vocation. Although the party was not opposed to cooperatives as such but in family farming every constituent functions according to its own strength. The head of the family is not elected nor is there a training course for him. He learns from the methods already developed by his seniors. But in cooperative farming there would be a heterogeneous collection of people. Supposing that all of them contribute their labour in farming, the problem of sharing the produce would still remain. The question of a proper and just distribution of the farm-produce would remain unsolved. Cooperative farming would also involve leadership and initiative; who would collect together all the farmers? Who would include zamindars as well as agricultural labourers? While this question was being debated in the country, the communists in Kerala imposed leaders of their choice on the cooperative farming bodies. The real fear was that elsewhere the Congress Party would also do in future what the communists were doing then in Kerala. Nehruji was in such a haste to implement cooperative farming that he was not even prepared to give it a detailed thought. Deendayalji was asking the question, how it would be possible to go through with this experiment without setting the questions of rights, leadership etc. The same question would arise in respect of irrigation. Deendayalji offered the following practical suggestions on land reforms and irrigation :

1 A ceiling on agricultural income should be fixed for future.

2. Irrigation would be carried on by farmers themselves. They should only be left free to repay the loans according to their convenience.
3. Those in possession of excess lands should be bound to sell the excess land within a period of 3 years. The farmer purchasing the land should be provided the facility of raising loans with the cooperative or other banks.
4. There should be over-all planning for the village and land consolidation should be completed.
5. There should be a committee for arranging for loans and sales.

The workers of *Jana Sangh* went to every village in Uttar Pradesh and placed before the people the views of the party relating to these important questions connected with the farmers. It was the most important movement organised by *Jana Sangh* on the economic situation. The movement helped *Jana Sangh* to develop relations with several communities engaged in agriculture. The good results of this were visible in the subsequent elections and *Jana Sangh* was supported by a big section of farmers. This was not merely a mass contact programme of the *Jana Sangh* party. Ultimately, it proved to be a revolutionary programme which changed the outlook of *Jana Sangh* and gave it an economic dimension. This change was possible only because of the insistence of Deendayalji.

Movement against Rising Prices

Jana Sangh started a nation-wide movement against rising prices in 1958. The *Jana Sangh* members of Parliament Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee and Shri Dattopant Thengadi warned the government in a submission that if the prices were not brought down, the government would fall. Similar movements were launched in cities like Bombay, Nagpur, Lucknow, Bhopal, Indor, Kanpur, Ambala, Jodhpur, Calcutta and Bhagalpur. During the movement, delegations consisting of *Jana Sangh* leaders and legislators met the government officials and apprised them of the seriousness of the situation. The main theme of these movements was, "The past belonged to

Congress and the future belongs to *Jana Sangh*". This was the 2nd national movement launched by *Jana Sangh* on economic matters.

Ownership of Land

The questions of land ownership and of the rights of those who till the land are questions that have long remained unsolved. As a leader of a political party and student of economics Deendayalji had his own ideological perception of these problems. As the General Secretary of *Jana Sangh*, he had made his views known in the Organiser, October 1958. Even though the Congress Party had enacted laws for land reforms, there was no appreciable progress in solving the question of ownership of land due to internal opposition As the Congress had been propagating that *Jana Sangh* was a party dominated by Zamindars, it had become necessary to clearly state the policy of *Jana Sangh* on this issue. In Press Conferences and also in his speeches, Deendayalji would often refer to this question. In these references he mainly stressed two points i.e. (i) right of ownership should belong to the person who works on the land and (ii) ceiling on maximum holdings of land should be fixed so as to put a maximum ceiling of Rupees ten thousand per year on income from land. While introducing these reforms care should be taken to see that agricultural economy is not upset. Only a big noise is made about land reforms. *Jana Sangh* had suggested a maximum ceiling of 5 acres on holdings of irrigated land. The party was opposed to cooperative farming for reasons already referred to by us.

American Wheat Not Wanted

Jana Sangh wanted the country to be self-reliant in respect of foodgrains and to remain politically free. Hence, it had opposed the agreement which was known as the PL 480 Agreement. This was at the instance of Deendayalji. He was of the view that USA was using the Agreement to pressurise *Bharat* on the Kashmir question in favour of Pakistan. USA was supplying food grains to serve its political and economic interests. American policies are dominated by economic considerations and the agreement served the political as well as the economic interests of America. However, it was in the interest of political independence of *Bharat* to give up the imports of wheat from America and to be self-reliant in the matter of food grains.

A Grand Demonstration by *Jana Sangh*

Of all the mass movements launched by *Jana Sangh* since its inception on national and local issues, involving mass-contact, mass-struggle and mass-awakening, the most impressive from political and national point of view was the anti-Kutch Agreement demonstration held before the Parliament on 16th August, 1965. Giving a factual description of the demonstration, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had called it the grand display of the *Bharatiya* people. More than five lakh people (this number was given out by BBC) from different corners of *Bharat* had come to Delhi to take part in the demonstration. Speaking before the demonstrators, Deendayalji had said that if the province governments had not obstructed the demonstrators in many ways from coming to Delhi, the number would have been even greater. The demonstrators covered the distance of 6 miles from Red Fort to Patel Chowk at Sansad Marg marching in a much disciplined manner. In this way *Jana Sangh* set up an example of peaceful demonstration for the people of the country. The people were so much impressed by the demonstration and the disciplined manner in which it was conducted that 'Hindustan Times', which always supported the Congress Party, described the demonstration in the words in its leading article on 19th August, 1965, "The entire march and demonstration was so orderly and disciplined that there was no chance of any untoward incident taking place. Congress should learn a lot from *Jana Sangh* in this regard."

It is only the goondas who gain from undisciplined demonstrations and the people have to suffer. 'Times of India' from Delhi wrote, "The entire Delhi got painted orange on Monday last." As against this, the famous Cartoonist Shankar said in his English Weekly, "The newspapers did not give reports containing a proper description of the demonstration." In the Parliament, many Members of Parliament, including those who belonged to the Samyukta Socialist Party, Republican Party, as also independent members, made reference to this powerful demonstration and demanded that the Kutch Agreement should be rescinded. Lakhs of demonstrators from Kutch to Kamrup and from Kashmir to Kanya Kuraari, including women in great numbers, had joined this demonstration.

Speaking in the largely attended meeting after the demonstration Deendayalji said, "This massive demonstration has not been organised merely to demand annulment of the Kutch Agreement but also to assure the government of our fullest cooperation if the government starts a war tomorrow against this aggression." At the time of demonstration, the demonstrators received the happy news that the *Bharatiya* army had been ordered by the government to march forward and that it had already wrested 3 military posts from Pakistan in the Tithwal Sector in Kashmir.

This huge demonstration organised by *Jana Sangh* amply demonstrated the fact that the people were deeply disturbed at the activities of Pakistani army in Kashmir and Kutch and they expected the *Bharatiya* government to adopt a strong and aggressive policy in this regard. This nationalist role of *Jana Sangh* had received the massive support of the people.

In the next stage of its movement on the Kutch issue, *Jana Sangh* started a Satyagraha movement in Kutch in April, 1968. The people joined this movement too in great numbers and thousands of people offered Satyagraha. The government tried to suppress the Satyagraha. This Satyagraha offered by five thousand people, was reminiscent of the Dandi March of Gandhiji. This movement was a happy augury of a new political awakening and was the result of the efforts made by *Jana Sangh* in this direction.

A Review of the Movements

An account of the success achieved in the Herculean task of setting up the *Jana Sangh* organisation since 1951, is available in the early report for 1966 submitted by Deendayalji. By 1966, *Jana Sangh* had set up its branches in 268 out of the 350 districts of the country. Within one year the membership of the party had been doubled as compared to the previous year. The number stood at 13 lakh then. In addition to increased membership, *Jana Sangh* also achieved great success in civic elections. For example, *Jana Sangh* got elected in 13 local bodies in Bengal. In the *Bharat*-Pak war *Jana Sangh* had offered its cooperation. It had set up several Refreshment Centres for soldiers in Punjab, Jammu etc. Hundreds of volunteers were engaged in providing assistance to armed personnel injured in the war. *Jana Sangh* also organised about 50,000 conferences all over the country to encourage the people and keep their morale high.

Effective Political Force

The organisational set up of *Jana Sangh* and the movements launched by it from time to time led the newspapers to express the view that *Jana Sangh* was emerging as an effective political force in *Bharat*. For example, writing about the Jallandhar Session of *Jana Sangh*, 'Times of India' wrote, "The resolutions adopted at the Conference were objective. The leaders did not adopt an agitational approach towards every question but considered such questions from the national point of view. For example, the resolution regarding the reorganisation of Punjab contained no bitterness; rather it expressed the inclination to help in the practical application of the government policy." The Calcutta 'Statesman' had said in its issue of 5th May, 1966, "The Jallandhar Session has clearly demonstrated that *Jana Sangh* has now come of age. It is now quite evident that *Jana Sangh* is now a politically mature political party. It is very significant that *Jana Sangh*, with so little experience, has shown so much understanding and harmony. *Jana Sangh* has so far contested 3 elections and its fame has been growing with every election. The discussions held on many issues in this conference and the manner in which the discussions were conducted by the leaders only show that it is becoming mature as a party. The leaders deliberately avoided using provocative intemperate language in the resolution. This is indicative of their discretion." The daily 'Pioneer' of Lucknow had this to say, "All through the Conference, use of a language that would hurt the Sikhs was strictly avoided."

The above newspaper - comments show that over a period of 15 years *Jana Sangh* had earned for itself the prestige of a party of independent thinking having a new class of leadership, a new mode of mass-contact and new ideals. The influence of Deendayalji was clearly visible in all these attributes. The demonstration held in August, 1965 against the Kutch agreement, in which lakhs of demonstrators had participated and also the subsequent satyagraha had amply proved that mass-movements launched with restraint and discipline can indeed be very effective in a democracy.

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In the Election Arena

B*haratiya Jana Sangh* entered politics as an alternative to the Congress Party. In election meetings, Deendayalji used to place before the voters certain basic concepts. He used to tell the workers also that since *Jana Sangh* was a party with ideals, they should have a commitment to those ideals. He was of the view that elections provided a good opportunity for placing the ideals and programmes of the party before the people. Elections were also a kind of political training. Consequently, while success in elections had its own importance, the proportion of the number of seats won and votes polled were no less important. Speaking on the occasion of the 12th Session of the Maharashtra branch of BJS in Nasik, he had said, "It would be advisable to contest a maximum number of seats because in an election, seats and votes both have their importance. Even if the election is lost, the number of votes polled in our favour is useful in the context of the future programmes of action. It is, therefore, not proper to think of leaving any seat uncontested. We should spread the network of our activities in every part of our constituency or region. It would be dangerous not to do this. No part of constituency should be left out in the matter of collecting funds. In the same way, we should also mark out people who would be prepared to contribute at least 10 paise per day effective from 21 October (the founder's day of *Jana Sangh*).

While inaugurating the election campaign for Delhi in October

1961, Deendayalji placed the ideology of *Jana Sangh* before the people. He said, "The real struggle today is between the Communist and the Nationalist ideologies. The communists have been exposed after the Chinese aggression and now they are entering the Congress party with a changed face. The Congressmen too are welcoming them. Today's Congress is not the Congress of Purushottamdas Tandon or Sardar Patel. Today it is the Congress of Menons and Malaviyas. If we want to keep the nation and democracy alive we shall have to fight both, the Congress and the Communists. *Jana Sangh*, therefore, appeals to all patriots. The people too must well understand the real significance of this conflict. If Congress is to be dislodged, we shall have to set up an alternative organisation with a wide base. The fall of Congress has come because of the electoral pacts entered into by it for immediate gains. Congress must be defeated only on the basis of a concrete programme and ideology. It is because of this that *Jana Sangh* has decided to place before the people these two facts and eschewed the temptation to enter into opportunistic agreements or to join any joint front. Joint fronts can be useful for those who want to hide their identity. We consider such a policy to be neither proper nor profitable. *Jana Sangh* is fighting for an ideology, not merely for power. The success of democracy lies in organising the people in a disciplined manner on the basis of this ideology and specific policy."

(Organiser)

Challenge to the Congress Monopoly of Power

Congress has enjoyed unfettered power in the country with the result that it has acquired monopolistic tendencies. This tendency was challenged by the communists in Kerala and by *Jana Sangh* in Delhi. In Kerala, a Communist government came to power and in Delhi too the Congress was defeated and in this manner the Congress monopoly was ended. The defeat of Congress started with elections to the Delhi Municipal Corporation (March 1958) when *Jana Sangh* won 25 out of the 80 seats in the Municipal Corporation and became the second largest party after the Congress. Inaugurating the campaign for the election, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had said, "The rulers only understand the language of defeat in elections. If the Congress has to be made to understand the widespread dissatisfaction in the country, it must be defeated." As a result of these elections to the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, not only did *Jana Sangh* get a hold on Delhi but it was also vindicated in respect of all the allegations that had been made against it. It was a common belief that traditionally, the Muslim votes go to the Congress. But in these elections, in some of the constituencies *Jana Sangh* also got Muslim votes. It also got some Sikh votes. In the reserved constituencies also, *Jana Sangh* was able to win three seats out of the seven for which it contested. This showed that *Jana Sangh* had secured an entry into those groups and sections of the society which traditionally belonged to Congress. Out of the 25 successful candidates of *Jana Sangh* almost all were active workers. The elections showed that the *Jana Sangh* workers were skilled in propaganda and organisational work. Speaking at a meeting held to felicitate the *Jana Sangh* after the elections, Deendayalji said, "In India the two party system of Britain has no utility. Here we shall have to develop our own multi-party system and make laws to prevent defections." The comments made by the Delhi Press on this point of view suggested that in the shape of *Jana Sangh* a new star was rising on the political horizon of the country which was bound to spread its light all around. For example, 'Hindustan Times' wrote in its Election letter (24th March, 1958), "The manner in which *Jana Sangh* organised its elections has amply proved that it has no dearth of dedicated and enthusiastic workers." One Congress worker commented, "On the election day, the *Jana Sangh* workers spread themselves everywhere like a swarm of locusts. They were continuously on the move. The situation in Congress was quite contrary. The Congress workers were divided; they had narrow loyalties and were cowardly." These comments clearly bring out the influence that *Jana Sangh* had started to exercise in the elections.

Four general elections were held during the tenure of Deendayalji.

The first general election was held in 1952. In this election the *Jana Sangh* candidates got 3.1 per cent votes and the party was recognised as an all India party. The performance of the party in the general elections held in 1957, 1962 and 1967 was described by Deendayalji in his reports placed before the annual conferences of the party. A perusal of these reports alone can throw light on the success of the Party's election policies and the political repercussions thereof. In his report on the general elections of 1967 presented at the Ambala Session of the party, Deendayalji had this to say about the party's election policy and its success: "As usual, the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party adopted the policy of Muslim appeasement and, as usual, the Congress exploited casteism. *Jana Sangh* did not enter into agreement with any all-*Bharat* party and only local adjustments in the distribution of seats were made depending upon the local conditions. *Jana Sangh* concetrated only on the security of the country and the Second Five Year Plan in its election propaganda. I have reached the conclusion that the commitment of *Jana Sangh* to nationalism and democracy has triggered a process of political polarisation in *Bharat*."

(Organiser, 14 April, 1958)

He submitted his report about the 1962 elections to the Central Executive which met at Kota. In this report he stated, "As we had already decided, *Jana Sangh* contested the elections only on the basis of its policies and programme wherever it was feasible. The party did not join the joint front. It also did not enter into any election alliance. Only for some seats, there was some give and take arrangement. This time the party set up 1162 candidates for Assemblies and 198 candidates for Lok Sabha elections. In Orissa the party participated in the elections for the first time. *Jana Sangh* got 5.55% votes in Assembly elections and 6.44% in Lok Sabba elections. *Jana Sangh* got 14 Lok Sabha seats whereas in 1957 it had got only 4 seats. It is worth mentioning that our workers scrupulously adhered to our code of conduct. Our policy was to apprise the people of the policy and programme of *Jana Sangh* through these elections. Even though allegations were made against *Jana Sangh*, we did not reply to them. Every one once again realised that the communists help the Congress against *Jana Sangh* in the elections". (28th May, 1962)

1967 was a revolutionary year in Indian politics. Before the elections held in that year, Deendayalji wrote an article in which he had stated that "I shall not be surprised if the percentage of votes polled by Congress falls to 25 and that of the nationalist votes reaches 35. People now do not like Congress and at the same time they do not vote for communists. In such a situation it is the nationalists who should provide the national alternative." After the elections held in February, Deendayalji analysed the election results in the following words: "*Jana Sangh* contested elections for 2002 Assembly seats and it secured 8.94% votes. For Lok Sabha the Party set up 249 candidates and secured 9.33 per cent votes. Out of the contests lost by *Jana Sangh*, 15 were lost by 5,000 votes. In these elections *Jana Sangh* made some notable achievements. It emerged as the largest opposition party in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Hariyana. In Madhya Pradesh, politics went through a phase of polarization. While the Congress polled 40.66 per cent votes, among the opposition parties the largest number of votes, i.e. 28.28 per cent, was polled by the *Jana Sangh* party. In Uttar Pradesh, the number of legislators belonging to the *Jana Sangh* rose from 49 to 98 while Congress secured 200 out of the 425 seats.

The Party Ranks Second

"Ever since its inception, *Jana Sangh* had aspired to be the alternative to Congress. Political observers were of the view that an alternative to Congress could not be provided without having electoral alliances, having coalitions or effecting mergers. But *Jana Sangh* was determined to emerge as the alternative only on the basis of its firm principles and a well defined programme. Therefore it had addressed itself to the task of giving to the Party organisation, a strong base. As such a political party must, no doubt, have the support of the people but above all, it should also have a band of dedicated and disciplined workers. Electoral alliances could, no doubt, meet some immediate needs but they could not inspire the workers for some ideal. It is only such inspiration that enthuses the workers to be ever ready to serve, to make sacrifices and to work hard. Hence, *Jana Sangh* has always held the view that elections are not meant merely to acquire power but also to give a political training to the people. In the fourth general elections the Congress was battered while *Jana Sangh* rose in rank to the second position as a political party."

(Organiser)

Education of Voters

Deendayalji believed that elections provided an opportunity to give political training to the people. It was from this point of view that before the 1962 elections, he wrote a series of articles, entitled 'Your Vote', in the 'Organiser' which contained every kind of information for the benefit of the voters. In these articles he had discussed in detail, matters such as the defence arrangements of the country, comparative analysis of the economic policies of different political parties, a practical approach to planning, farming and farmers etc.

In doing so, he had also explained the policy of *Jana Sangh* on these matters. For example, on the subject dealing with modernisation of the armed forces and militarisation of the nation he had written, "The question of defence has three aspects : (1) Protection of the borders, (2) Liberation of enemy-occupied territory and (3) To make the defence forces strong while, at the same time, solving the problems of defence personnel." No other party, except *Jana Sangh*, had made any suggestions regarding the security of borders and the necessity of checking enemy infiltration.

In one of its resolutions, *Jana Sangh* had suggested that the Central Government should set up a separate force for the protection of the borders, which could also help in checking infiltration and smuggling. Apart from this, other suggestions included modernisation of secret service so that it can keep an eye on foreign spies. The resolution also warned against the continuing infiltration from Pakistan into Assam and Kashmir and stressed the urgent need of taking some measures to check the infiltration.

Enemy-occupied Territory

Effort must be made for the liberation of the *Bharatiya* territory occupied by Portugal, Pakistan and Communist China: while explaining the resolutions of other parties on this subject Deendayalji, in the above article, has said, "The Swatantra Party is silent about the Kashmir territory occupied by Pakistan. Praja Socialist Party has referred to this issue as part of the foreign policy. The Communist Party, while saying that the Pak-occupied Kashmir territory should be liberated has referred to the issue of Chinese occupation of Indian territory in a mild language. The Congress has only expressed the hope that the enemy-occupied territory would be liberated. The view of *Jana Sangh* in this regard is very clear, decisive and unambiguous. *Jana Sangh* has demanded the liberation of territory occupied by both China and Pakistan. Bharatiya *Jana Sangh* is committed to this liberation."

Militarisation of the Nation

"The Congress and the Communist Party both have kept silent about the armed forces. Praja Socialist Party and *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* have demanded the setting up of a 'National Defence Council'. Today it is very necessary to have defence preparedness. Hence our aim should be to bring about the militarisation of the nation and modernisation of the army. The aggressors shall have to be thrown out of the *Bharatiya* territory. We require people who will fight and not merely disapprove. A hesitant and cowardly leadership will not do for *Bharat*. We want a leadership ever ready to do the highest sacrifice for motherland. Today we need a leadership which is prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice for the motherland and which has a sense of commitment and self-respect."

(Organiser, 25th December, 1961)

Minorities-A Wrong Concept

During the election, Deendayalji always made a special reference to the politics of Muslim appeasement. He had written a comparative article on this subject in 'Organiser' (1st January, 1961). In this article he had contended that Congress always planned its election strategy on caste and communal considerations and had further stated, "Congress speaks in terms of the majority and the minority. For each of them it uses a different yardstick and formulates its policies accordingly. Contrary to this, *Jana Sangh* strongly believes in the concept of One Nation." Explaining the *Jana Sangh* point of view, Deendayalji had said, "*Bharatiya Jana Sangh* repudiates the concept of majority and minority. It believes in nationalism based on One Culture; *Jana Sangh* does not recognise other cultures based on religion. It has accepted the principle of 'one country, one culture and one nation'. It is true that due to historical reasons some of our countrymen have parted from us. But *Jana Sangh* believes that instead of doing something that further accentuates that separateness; we should adopt measures to put an end to this feeling. Nationalism is not created on the basis of political give and take; rather, it is created on the basis of a common commitment, because, according to *Jana Sangh*, nation is a concept based on consciousness. *Jana Sangh* recognises freedom of prayer and worship but is opposed to the practice of asking for and granting special rights based thereon."

Economic Approach of *Jana Sangh*

In every election, *Jana Sangh* presented before the voters its specific economic approach. It mostly reflected the economic thinking of Deendayalji. However, after 1962 there was greater stress on discussion of economic issues. In common parlance, *Jana Sangh* was called a rightist party. But this classification as the rightists and the leftists was itself not acceptable to Deendayalji. In an article published before the 1962 elections he had written, "Usually the aim of the economic programme of most political parties is the same. Differences lie in the matter of means that are to be adopted to achieve that aim; all parties want that the standard of living of the people should be raised and the disparity in income and ownership of property should be reduced. The socialist parties want to achieve this aim with the help of the government machinery. The non-socialist parties want to achieve this aim by encouraging the creative and constructive tendencies of man but, at the same time, by avoiding the concentration of economic power and by fulfilling the social needs.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh supports neither capitalism nor communism. *Jana Sangh* wants to expose the purely academic difference between private and public sector industrial undertakings. *Jana Sangh* wants the production to go up to the extent that people's needs are met. Similarly the defence requirements must be met. While inducing greater production, care shall have to be taken to avoid concentration of economic power and such policies shall have to be so formulated that the economic disparity does not get accentuated. Disparity leads to the shrinking of the market for essential goods and the slump, in turn, leads to fall in production. Naturally, when this happens, unemployment grows. If there is a plan to provide work to every person and if every one gets a reasonable wage, the consumption of goods will be greater and the economic and social imbalance will also be reduced."

Planning should be Purely *Bharatiya*

After planning was introduced in *Bharat*, people's reactions to it were stereotyped. However, the criticism offered by Deendayalji was based on certain principles and, as such, it was incorporated in the election-manifesto of the party. Deendayalji accepted the need for planning. However, it was suggested by *Jana Sangh* that we should not run after rapid increase in industrialisation and should not adopt the Western pattern of industrialisation. Rather, we in *Bharat* should develop our own technology. We shall have to adopt an integrated approach based on our cultural tradition, social values and material needs. Blind adoption of foreign technique will neither solve our problems nor will it help in creating a self-reliant and self-sufficient economic system.

Jana Sangh would recognise family as being the basis of production-system and would try to decentralise the system. While every effort will be made to maximise the production, provision shall also be made for a fair distribution of production as well as property. *Jana Sangh*'s objection was that the Russian pattern was being adopted in the planning process. Consequently, the party made two other important suggestions, namely, the Planning Commission should be reorganised and the National Development Council should be more representative in character. *Jana Sangh* wanted that priority in planning should be given to agriculture so that the country will be self-sufficient in foodgrains and raw material for small industries will continue to be available.

Agriculture and the Farmers

Jana Sangh was always criticised as being the supporter of feudal system. In its election manifesto, the party had replied to this criticism. In an article written before the 1962 elections (Organiser, 29th January, 1962), Deendayalji had analysed the party's policy in this regard. "*Jana Sangh* has adopted a realistic and extensive programme of land reforms. A Goebbles type of propaganda is being carried on that *Jana Sangh* wants to revive the economic order of the medieval period. The programme itself answers this criticism. *Jana Sangh* will implement this programme without taking recourse to slogans. *Jana Sangh* wants to remove the existing legal flaws and wants to make the farmer the real owner of land. It will stop all ways of snatching land from the tiller. It will not touch those whose land is less than the ceiling. The maximum ceiling of land to be given to the tiller shall be 5 acres. However, land belonging to widows, disabled, ex-servicemen and religious charitable institutions will not be governed by this ceiling. Mechanisation of agriculture will not be useful in this country. *Jana Sangh* is opposed to cooperative farming. There will be no discrimination in the provision of facilities given by the government to the farmers. Five acres of irrigated land is sufficient for the maintenance of a farmer's family. As such, *Jana Sangh* shall ensure the availability of that much land through the plan. *Jana Sangh* is of the view that the amount of land-revenue should be reduced. The land-revenue should go to the Panchayats. The misconception that sufficient amount of taxes are not realised from the village people, is being given currency. *Jana Sangh* wants to develop agriculture by laying stress on small holdings. Hence, vote given to *Jana Sangh* will be a vote in support of the concept of making small farmers independent and prosperous." Deendayalji was thus placing very clearly *Jana Sangh* schemes about agriculture and farmers.

(Organiser, 29th January, 1962)

People Want Change

In substance, a situation in the country was developing which gave the impression that the people were anxious to banish the Congress Party from its monopoly of power. Deendayalji had started giving expression to this feeling in 1962. He used to say, 'The votes secured by Congress are the votes given on caste and communal considerations, as a result of personal charisma and due to traditional support for the established power. People do vote for Congress not because they like it, but because the other parties cannot compete with it in the matter of election technique and organised set up. But the time will come when people will understand things better and then the Congress will be dethroned. This prediction was made by Deendayalji from the election results of 1962.

Why *Jana Sangh* not in Joint Front

The important guiding principle of *Jana Sangh* election strategy was to make adjustments for seats for the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections with other opposition parties without joining their joint front. Deendayalji was, no doubt, of the view that Congress should be dislodged from power but he also believed that anti-Congressism alone could not be the basis of national reconstruction. It was only a step in the effort to bring the authoritarian rule of Congress to an end. The subsequent approach to the task of reconstruction has to be different and based on quite a different principle.

As there cannot be a power vacuum, a multi-party government becomes a necessity. Since the voters do not want the Congress to return to power, their negative vote could be given a constructive shape only by setting up coalition governments. In order to defeat the Congress, it is necessary to have adjustment of seats in the elections. The people do not expect much from a coalition government.

Like a one-party government a multi-party government has also to follow certain basic rules of good government. Such a multi-party government can adopt a common programme based on different principles and be committed to execute it. This policy of *Jana Sangh* was again put forward by Deendayalji in the 1967 elections.

Relative Implications of Election Results

"*Jana Sangh* wants to live as a party of dedicated and disciplined workers having a specific policy and well defined programme. It wants to function as an alternative party which is not merely after power but is guided by the polar star of idealism. *Jana Sangh* has been formed to fulfil these expectations of the people." This was a commitment of *Jana Sangh*. Elections serve as a mirror to public opinion. During the tenure of Deendayalji, in the general elections held in 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967, it was this image of *Jana Sangh* that emerged. All through this period it was Deendayalji who guided and consolidated *Jana Sangh*, organisationally. Now the question is to what extent the goals of *Jana Sangh* listed above were achieved? How far did *Jana Sangh* succeed during these four general elections as a party committed to ideals, working for the good of the people and struggling for them? The question as to which of the ideological concepts and principles of *Jana Sangh* took firm root during the period from 1951 to 1967 will be discussed in the next chapter. In this chapter we have to examine in brief the success achieved by *Jana Sangh* in the elections as an effective political party. For a political or any other organisation to succeed, it has to pass through several stages consisting of neglect, condemnation, malicious propaganda, opposition and conflict. *Jana Sangh* also had to pass through these five stages.

In the 1952 election the leadership, the ability and political prestige of Dr. Mookherji and the determination and hard work of its devoted workers was the only asset of *Jana Sangh*. By way of a brief evaluation of the success achieved by the Party in this election it can be said that *Jana Sangh* became eligible for being recognised by the Election Commission as an all-*Bharat* party after having secured 3.1% votes all over *Bharat*. It won 3 Lok Sabha and 34 Assembly seats. It also secured one seat in *Rajya* Sabha. In the Assembly elections *Jana Sangh* got 28, 66, 566 votes and in the Lok Sabha constituencies it secured 32, 46, 288 votes. The elections convinced the workers that the *Jana Sangh* organisational network, if spread all over the country, was bound to get votes. (Shri Jagadish Prasad Mathur, Chief of Central Office-analysis published in Ganatantra issue of Organiser, 1962).

In the 1957 elections for Lok Sabha, *Jana Sangh* got 5.93 per cent votes and 4 seats. The number of Assembly seats rose to 46 from 35 in the outgoing Assemblies and the percentage of votes increased from 2.76 to 4.03 per cent.

In the 1962 Lok Sabha elections the Party secured 14 seats (as against 4 in 1957) with a percentage of 6.44% votes (as against 5.93 in 1957). In the Assembly elections in the same year it secured 116 seats as against 51 seats in the outgoing Assemblies. Votes percentage rose to 6.21 from 4.03.

In 1967, *Jana Sangh* got 268 seats and 8.94 per cent votes in the Assembly elections. In the Lok Sabha elections the Party won in 35 constituencies and secured 9.33 per cent votes and became the second largest party. In this election *Jana Sangh* got double the number of votes secured in the previous elections. In his report about these elections, Deendayalji reached three conclusions, which are as follows:

1. The election strategy of *Jana Sangh* had been successful;
2. The number of Congress votes and the influences of the leftist parties had been reduced; and
3. The progress achieved by *Jana Sangh* was two times more.

In a resolution *Jana Sangh* expressed its satisfaction about the results of 1967 elections as follows: "The elections have demolished the Congress monopoly of power. The elections have shown how dissatisfied people are with Congress. As a result of the disintegration of Congress the need to have an alternative party is being keenly felt. *Jana Sangh* had guessed this possibility even before the elections. Hence, *Jana Sangh* had contested the elections on its own strength as a constructive alternative. It did not join any front. The number of seats won and the votes secured by *Jana Sangh* have both registered an increase. *Jana Sangh* has secured more votes than any other non-Congress party. In view of the confidence expressed by the people in *Jana Sangh*, it resolves to organise itself as an alternative party and to build itself up into a strong alternative." In substance, the progress achieved by *Jana Sangh* in 1967 elections demonstrated that the political influence of *Jana Sangh* on people was growing and that the policy laid down by Deendayalji, that *Jana Sangh* should fight elections on its own strength as an alternative party, was proving fruitful.

Jana Sangh and the Muslims

An American writer Baxter has, in his book on *Jana Sangh*, analysed the votes secured by *Jana Sangh* in the elections from two angles-one, *Jana Sangh* votes and the Muslim votes and two, rural and urban votes. The general impression was that the Muslim votes would not, as usual, go to *Jana Sangh*. On this, it was the contention of Baxter that the number of Muslim dominated districts was not as great in Hindi speaking provinces as it was in Bengal and Assam. The fact that RSS propaganda is not much in evidence in these provinces and that *Jana Sangh* has adopted a pro-Hindi attitude can be the two reasons for this. In Uttar Pradesh there are only 10 districts which have a predominance of Muslim population. The number of votes polled by *Jana Sangh* in these districts during the 1962 and 1967 elections indicate no definite pattern.

(*Jana Sangh*, Baxter, P. 234-235)

Another conception about *Jana Sangh* was that it was a party which had the support of Urban votes. A study of the results of 1957 and 1962 elections reveals that in 1957 elections it got 16.69 per cent votes in rural areas in Uttar Pradesh. In 1962, *Jana Sangh* contested in 43 rural constituencies in this province and got 22.59 per cent votes. In 1962, *Jana Sangh* secured a good number of votes in the rural areas. In these elections the Party got 36 per cent more votes in urban areas and 78 per cent more votes in rural areas.

(*Jana Sangh*, Baxter, P. 236)

Progress in Four Elections

In all the four elections, *Jana Sangh* achieved ever greater success in all the provinces except Jammu & Kashmir. For example, in 1962 it got 14.44 per cent votes in Hariyana, 9.37 per cent in Punjab, 15.21 percent in Himachal Pradesh, 10.33 per cent in Bihar and 21.53 per cent in Madhya Pradesh. In substance, *Jana Sangh* achieved all round success in 1962 elections. More voters belonging to the Muslim, Christian and other communities voted for *Jana Sangh* in this election as compared to the earlier elections. *Jana Sangh* also gained a foothold in the tribal region. The position of Muslims being the vote bank of the Congress also got changed.

"In the delegates meeting, *Jana Sangh* reached the conclusion that it was gradually emerging as the alternative party. The process of polarisation had started and already been completed in Delhi and Madhya Pradesh, whereas in Uttar Pradesh it was in the final stage of completion. In Hariyana, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and Jammu & Kashmir, *Jana Sangh* was now capable of meeting the challenge."

(Organiser, 30th April, 1967)

Two Stages of Power Transition

In 1962, Deendayalji had predicted that the Congress would be defeated. However, leaving out the Centre, it was defeated in 8 of the provinces. It had thus been established that the Congress monopoly of power could be ended. As the seat of power can never be vacant, Deendayalji had conceived of two stages in the transition of power after the removal of Congress from the seat of power.

The first stage was that of a multi-party coalition government and the second that of one-party governments of different opposition parties.

In 1967, the first stage of the transition of power was witnessed by the country. Even before the elections, Deendayalji had given an analysis of this phenomenon in the election manifesto of *Jana Sangh* in which it was stated, "The people are anxious to start a new chapter in the history of independent *Bharat.* The elections are not only an opportunity but also a challenge to the people. Congress has been in power for the last 20 years but it has lost the confidence of the people now. Congress has not done anything in keeping with the self-respect of the people. Truly speaking, the government has not been able to bring about the manifestation of the real power of the people and has also not been able to give a meaningful shape to the labours of the people. The courage and self-sacrifice of the people and armed personnel are not reflected in government policies. It has disregarded the fundamental unity of the country and the feelings of the people. It has paid no attention to the welfare of the people. Instead of enjoying a life of prosperity, self-respect and self-reliance in all respects, the country has been brought to the brink of bankruptcy, political slavery and national insult under the Congress rule. In self-rule, the suppression of our own *Dharma* and our freedom can no longer be tolerated. People will now not allow the Congress rule to continue. We shall have to change this rule."

Acceptance of Coalition Governments

Speaking in favour of *Jana Sangh* joining the coalition governments, Deendayalji had said, "If such governments are not formed, then Congress, as the largest party, would be invited to form the government in those provinces. If such governments failed to secure the confidence of the Assemblies, President's rule would become inevitable. What else would it mean except that in disregard of public opinion, the same Congress would form the government against which the people have given a mandate? Not only this, it would also mean our having demolished the confidence acquired by the people of their ability to bring about a democratic revolution through the use of vote. This would, in no case, be in the interest of the progress of democracy. It would only benefit those who have no faith in democracy." It was, therefore, decided to join the coalition governments after the elections in deference to public opinion. The Central Executive laid down guidelines as to the extent to which the party could continue in coalition governments and gave the following directive: "*Jana Sangh* should continue to remain in the ministries only as long as it is possible to render effective service to the people in accordance with the principles and programme of the party and while participating in the ministries, it should function as an independent parliamentary party in accordance with the constitution of the party."

The all-*Bharat* delegates conference met in Delhi in the month of April. In this meeting Deendayalji explained the party's role in coalition governments and said, "*Jana Sangh* will join the coalition ministries in the provinces but it will not have any electoral alliance with the opposition parties in the coming elections.

"If *Jana Sangh* had entered into electoral alliance with other opposition parties in the previous elections, then it could never have won as many seats as it has won now. In the same manner, if *Jana Sangh* had not made adjustments with others for setting up its candidates then Congress would have won many more seats.

"At the same time, it should also be borne in mind that if *Jana Sangh* had not agreed (or taken the initiative) to join coalition governments then Congress would have come back to power. Although, in the elections, the people have indicated their choice in the matter of ideals and policies as between *Jana Sangh* and communists, yet after the elections it has become necessary for both to work together (by participating in a coalition government)."

The Ultimate Goal - National Democratic Alternative

Jana Sangh was already emerging as an alternative political party which was dedicated to nationalism and democracy, which had desire to bring out economic, social and political reconstruction while preserving the cultural values of *Bharat* and which considered people to be the masters. It had also taken the decision of joining like-minded parties in the formation ot coalition governments pending final polarisation. However, in its election manifesto in 1967 it had also placed before the people the proposal of having a national democratic alternative. This proposal was a good example of a decisive step and strategy for removing the Congress from power. In this proposal the election strategy is outlined in the following words: "People are anxious to put an end to the corrupt rule of the Congress. This possibility depends on the emergence of an alternative to Congress. Reviewing the *Jana Sangh* preparations for elections and its organisational progress in this context, we believe that all seats in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh should be contested. In other provinces it should contest only such seats where it has been sufficiently active for the last five years and where it can give an effective challenge to the ruling party.

"In other provinces, where other political parties aspire to form governments, *Jana Sangh* would cooperate with them. At the same time, it hopes that in the provinces in which it can form governments on its own, other national democratic parties would extend their helping hand towards it."

The Inevitable Stage

The coalition governments that came into power after the 1967 elections should be looked at from two angles. First that the people had given a definite vote to the opposition parties in order to remove Congress from power. This vote was, in a way, a negative vote. But the associated question was whether a non-Congress government consisting of parties with similar views could be formed. If this was not possible then the only practical alternative was to have a multi-party programme-bound government in deference to the wishes of the people. The idea of Deendayalji about coalition governments was clear. He had resolved to participate in a coalition government as an inevitable stage in *Jana Sangh* coming to power; formation of such coalition governments was the only logical manner in which public opinion could be honoured and if *Jana Sangh* did not adopt such a course it would be a betrayal of the people's trust. He was quite clear on this point. Another way of looking at the question was that formation of coalition governments would bring the satisfaction of having done something good and desirable from the national point of view because the governments that would be dislodged after the coalition governments came to power, were Congress governments which were corrupt, had undermined people's self-respect, had obstructed the happiness of the people and were anti-people; and, therefore, demolition of such governments was a great national act.

Coalition governments are not alien to democracy. It is not as if only a single party government is a democratic government. When a leader claims the support of the majority in a House of Legislature and presents a list of his supporters to the Governor, it is immaterial as to which party they belong. There is no reason for taking this aspect into consideration. It means that the leader can remain in power so long as he has the support of the majority of Legislators. It was on this basis that Deendayalji helped in the formation of coalition governments and while so doing he was well aware of the fact that they would not last long.

When coalition ministries were formed, Deendayalji declared at the very outset, "In view of the prevailing situation and keeping in view the limitations under which the coalition governments have been formed, it would be wrong to expect these governments to perform any miracle. If these governments undertake some bold measures only out of the temptation to do something startling then it would be quite improper. This is warning which we want to give to these governments even at this stage. In order to clean up the present mess, it is first necessary to work ceaselessly with diligence and dedication. It is with these considerations that *Jana Sangh* has joined these governments and with a view to prolong the life of these governments it would not be hasty in furthering its own policies for the greater good of people."

The Plus and Minus Points of Coalition Ministries

After the coalition ministries had been in existence for seven months (their fall was also to come after the lapse of an equal period of time) Deendayalji made a forecast which is worth considering.

Addressing a meeting at Aurangabad on 21st October, 1967 he said, "In the recent elections, Congress was defeated in many provinces. It has gone after 20 years of rule. Let it go. This is not something to worry about. Let us bid farewell to it. The Congress governments were replaced by coalition governments which were returned to power by people's votes. *Jana Sangh* has also joined the coalition governments. Some people are surprised that *Jana Sangh* has joined the communists in these governments. But let us consider for a moment, what would have happened if *Jana Sangh* had refused to join these governments? Quite evidently, Congress would have again formed its governments. It would have come back to power in spite of being in minority.

This would have resulted in people losing faith in democracy. Presuming that Congress had in this manner continued to be in power, what would have been the impression in the minds of the people? What else except that they would have thought that the government can not be changed through votes and that they will have to take up arms to change it? People's faith in democracy has grown as a result of our forming these ministries and, simultaneously, their self-confidence has also increased.

"There are tensions in the coalition ministries. But it shall have to be conceded that these governments have done many good things for the people. So far as *Jana Sangh* is considered, people have clearly felt the difference between the ministries joined by *Jana Sangh* and those not joined by it. *Jana Sangh*'s work is doubtless valuable. In Bengal and Kerala they talk of confrontation with the Centre. Such a talk is not there in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; people understand this very well. In these provinces the slogan of 'Bundh' against the government is not being raised. After all the function of a government is not to bring about a 'bandh' of activity but to activate where work has stopped."

Congress to be Kept at a Distance

The then Secretary of *Jana Sangh*, Nanaji Deshmukh had once addressed the constituents of the coalition ministries in the following terms: "The coalition ministries in different provinces must succeed. If the Congress is to be kept away from power, it is of the utmost importance to keep the coalition ministries alive in different provinces. Only for this reason, they should not do anything which could bring the Congress back to power. If Congress gets back to power, it would be against people's wishes."

First Commitment to the People

Speaking in the delegates session of *Jana Sangh* in April 1967, many members had expressed the view that transitional politics had started in *Bharat*. Many delegates also warned that *Jana Sangh* would be left behind if it did not join the race for power. However, the sum and substance of the entire discussion was that for the success of democracy it was absolutely necessary to make a resolute effort to see that the coalition ministries were successful.

Political Party as a Medium

In a democracy, political parties are important as an instrument for the functioning of the government. Political parties have to perform the functions of formally organising public opinion, to oppose the violation of people's rights, to place people's problems and grievances before the government and get them redressed. *Bharatiya* political parties engage themselves only in attempts to acquire power and in enjoying and perpetuating the same. Deendayalji was an idealist and a politician devoted to the people and, therefore, after unseating Congress in 1967, he took the first step towards ending the one-party arbitrary rule of Congress by going for coalition ministries. He always felt the need of giving a constructive shape to anti-Congress feeling and, therefore, he never liked hating or opposing the Congress for the sake of opposition. He believed that such opposition could not be constructive by nature. It was his contention that along with opposing Congress, they should also keep before themselves the goal of reconstruction. In *Bharat*, after the end of one-party democracy, a two-party democracy would not come and consequently multi-party system was inevitable; this basic principle should be borne in mind. Moreover, political parties should have cordial relations amongst themselves and it should be remembered that political parties are organised only as instruments of public service.

Need of Healthy Relations among Parties

The above thinking of Deendayalji was not born out of political expediency. He had his own views about inter-party behaviour in a democracy and he had given expression to these views ever since he entered politics. Writing about the last three or four speeches made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad before relinquishing charge of the post of President of *Bharat*, Deendayalji had said, "Today, the relations between political parties have sunk to such a low level that we should hang our heads in shame. Today, political parties in *Bharat* are quarrelling among themselves. They try to keep off one another and if this thing continues, we shall have a new caste system in our society. All the political parties condemn communalism outwardly but they give sustenance to communalism in political form. Social untouchability, no doubt, is an evil but political untouchability is even more dangerous." (Organiser, 28th May, 1952). Deendayalji supported the setting up of coalition ministries as he thought that through them it would be possible to eradicate political untouchability.

Insistence on Code of Conduct

Deendayalji insisted on regulated and pure conduct. In the first elections there was an attempt that political parties should formulate a code of conduct for themselves. According to Deendayalji, such code of conduct is necessary for the preservation of morality in a democracy. Hence, as the opportunity came in 1967, he got a code of conduct, for *Jana Sangh* members participating in coalition governments, approved by the delegates session so that *Jana Sangh* could set an example of purity of conduct. This code of conduct included the following: (1) The *Jana Sangh* ministers should not draw monthly salary of more than one thousand rupees; (2) All the ministers should furnish an account of their personal property to the Chief Minister and to the *Jana Sangh* Parliamentary party; (3) *Jana Sangh* members should not attain banquets etc. and should observe simple living. While presenting this code of conduct for approval in the delegates session, Deendayalji had said, "At the present moment, *Jana Sangh* ministers should set an ideal of efficiency and dependability. They should not take 'special care' of their own constituencies as the Congress ministers do. The conduct of Congress Ministers should not be our ideal; rather such conduct should be a warning signal for us. The conduct of *Jana Sangh* ministers should be ideal like that of Shivaji and Chanakya." This shows how much Deendayalji insisted on purity of conduct.

Coalition Government - an Opportunity

To sum up, the 'defeat Congress' movement succeeded in 1967 and the people gave an opportunity to the opposition parties to come to power. However, the evils of self-interest, groupism and aimlessness had become organic parts of Indian politics so much so that it was impossible for the coalition governments to succeed without bringing about a qualitative change and without a real love for democracy. This is what happened in 1967. However, the coalition governments were politically beneficial in so far as it expressed people's feelings against Congress and it also gave them confidence that their votes can defeat Congress. These were the two main benefits which accrued from the 1967 experiment.

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8

Philosopher of Nationalist Policy

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya entered the political scene of independent *Bharat* as a representative and organiser of the ideology of RSS and *Jana Sangh* as forces of nationalism. The historical responsibility of solving the political and social problems of his time (1951-1968) in independent *Bharat*, in the context of nationalism and democracy, fell on his shoulders. He looked upon *Jana Sangh* as the medium through which he could discharge this responsibility. He wanted to give a concrete shape to his thinking. It was a new field of activity for him, full of many challenges. He had only the benefit of having with him workers who were dedicated, who possessed a sound character, who were devoted to public service but were inexperienced in politics. He wanted to give to the country an alternative party and an alternative life-style by opposing leaders like Nehru, who had acquired international fame, was popular and was a political successor of Gandhiji and by opposing the Congress Party which had a strong national base. Deendayalji was called upon to perform the fourfold role of a thinker, propagandist, organiser and political planner. The success achieved by Deendayalji in discharging these roles and the traditions of thought laid down by him in *Bharatiya* Politics give us an idea of the philosophy and political culture which Deendayalji gave to the country through the medium of *Jana Sangh*.

Mere theories remain confined to books. It is only the workers dedicated to these theories, possessing an insight into the philosophy contained therein and conducting themselves in accordance with it, who become the symbols of these theories and change the course of social life. In this way, Deendayalji gave a philosophy to *Jana Sangh* and through this philosophy he enunciated a set of principles and political culture which would long remain as a contribution made by him. Lokmanya Tilak always depended on Geeta to find solutions of life's problems and used to refer to shlokas contained therein even as we refer to the Calender to find out the day, date or month. (Ref. Preface by Dada Saheb Khaparde to Lokmanya Tilak ke Sansmaran evam Akhyayikayen,Vol. 3). Likewise Deendayalji's views on different matters, which he communicated through the medium of *Jana Sangh*, can guide the nation even today. We propose to examine these views in this chapter. Deendayalji was, undoubtedly, a philosopher of nationalistic politics. But, what is even more important, he was, par excellence, a humanitarian. As such the thinking of Deendayalji was a total vision based on spiritual, cultural, ideological and humanitarian values. All these values had coalesced in his total vision. Deendayalji looked at all the problems of independent *Bharat* through this vision. Justice Ranade used to say that one cannot remain a liberal only partially. In the same way, instead of a partial study, we shall have to make a total study of his thinking because he was a basic thinker and his thoughts were all-embracing.

Problems of Independent *Bharat*

What were the problems confronting independent *Bharat*? What were their nature and their root cause? What were the measures suggested by Deendayalji through the medium of *Jana Sangh* to solve these problems? Democratic *Bharat* had to run self-rule. Social and political reconstruction had to be brought about. Other problems, which came with freedom, had to be solved. While doing all this, the old leadership had to reconcile dreams with facts, slogans with practicability and high expectations with reality. Harmony had also to be brought about between global developments and the national life in *Bharat.* All these tasks had to be performed alone by the leadership of the Congress.

The power to rule had come as a new phenomenon in the politics of *Bharat.* Because of the advent of democracy the temptation of wielding power was being felt by every one. Remaining unattached as a Rajyogi would serve no purpose. Congress did not possess the single-minded devotion to a goal which could control its greed for power and save it from degeneration. Therefore, a heterogeneous crowd of people of every shade belonging to every community, level and group had started joining the Congress Party. The very culture of Congress was undergoing a change. It was heading towards downfall in many ways. Congress had never been a disciplined and well organised political party, As such, on the one hand we had all sorts of problems and new challenges and on the other we had the dependence on a political party which was not properly organised and was constantly running after power. This was the political situation prevailing in 1951.

A classification of the problems demanding solution in Independent *Bharat* revealed that there were five kinds of problems facing the country. The first problem was that of bringing about a political, social and cultural education of society. The second was that of reconstruction. The third class of problems was soluble by better understanding. In *Bharat*, as in the rest of the world, two extreme modes of life were prevailing. It was not in the interest of the country to wholly adopt either of the two modes.

The fourth class was that of problems of social tensions. Tensions among Hindus and Muslims, Harijans-girijans and others could be removed by harmonising and bringing them together; the objective of a homogeneous people could thus be achieved. The causes of the tensions will have to be removed. The fifth class consisted of problems related to administrative reorganisation. It was the requirement of the time that home-rule should be converted into a good rule. This was the touch-stone by which success of democracy and political freedom in *Bharat* could be judged in day to day life. If on an examination of the thoughts of *Jana Sangh* and Deendayalji we find things which are original and truly *Bharatiya*, their usefulness in solving our present problems will automatically emerge.

Akhand Bharat

Bharatiya nationalism is based on the concept of one people, one country and one culture. As such the partition of the country, brought about by the leaders on the basis of communal consideration of majority and minority, was not acceptable to *Jana Sangh*. From this point of view, the delegates session of *Jana Sangh* passed a resolution on 15th August, 1953 through which it expressed its faith in *Akhand Bharat* (undivided *Bharat*). The resolution stated, "The partition of *Bharat* was against its basic culture. The division has not solved any problem and has created even more serious problems. *Jana Sangh* believes in the concept of one country, one nation and one culture and as such it knows that our progress can take place only on the basis of this concept. Therefore, *Jana Sangh* will always keep this ideal before itself and will work for *Akhand Bharat*." Explaining the resolution, Deendayalji had said, "Congress has surrendered itself before the two nation theory but *Jana Sangh* cannot accept this partition mentally." (Organiser, May, 1958). The slogan of '*Akhand Bharat*', given by *Jana Sangh*, was not based on violence. '*Jana Sangh* would wait for the people of Pakistan to realise their mistake. Presuming that partition was brought about by compulsions of political situation in 1947, Congress does not even speak of rectifying its mistake. But *Jana Sangh* hopes that the two parts of this nation would reunite and recreate *Akhand Bharat*.' A resolution passed by the delegates session on 17th August, 1965 *Jana Sangh* again reiterated its faith in *Akhand Bharat* and in *Hindu*-Muslim unity. It is to be noted that *Bharat*-Pak war had taken place in the same year. In any case, *Jana Sangh* used to celebrate 15th August as '*Akhand Bharat*' day. The resolution meant that the creation of '*Akhand Bharat*' was possible on the basis of cultural unity of *Bharat*. The resolution also stated that relations of *Bharat* with Pakistan should not be based on a policy of appeasement. Stating that the policy of appeasement adopted by the Congress was at the root of the Muslim problem, the resolution went on to say, "As long as partition exists, there will be no peace between *Bharat* and Pakistan. It is because of our submission to goondaism of Pakistan and our policy of appeasement that the rift between the two has widened. Many Muslims of *Bharat* have emotional affinity for Pakistan. Two-fold efforts shall have to be made to change this situation. Firstly, a policy of 'tit for tat' should be adopted in our relations with Pakistan. The day Pakistan realises that its dream of conquering the whole of *Bharat* cannot be fulfilled, it would be forced to be introspective and would realise its mistake in dividing *Bharat*. But for this the policy of 'tit for tat' shall have to be adopted. Secondly, there should never be any bargaining with Muslims of *Bharat* with a view to appeasing them. All their rights are protected in the non-communal State of *Bharat*. But, while not tolerating the pro-Pakistan tendencies of Muslims, every effort shall have to be made to change their outlook and make it *Bharatiya*." (*Bharatiya Jana Sangh*-Ghoshna Va Prastaav. p. 75-76). This was the stand of *Jana Sangh*. Later on, Dr. Lohia and Deendayalji advocated the concept of a Federation of Pakistan and *Bharat*. It was explained in the following joint communique issued in April, 1964.

"It is our clear view that partition of India and Pakistan is wholly artificial. Relations between the two have been deteriorating because of the policies of two governments of looking for incomplete solutions to problems and considering each issue separately. This method should be given up and, instead, a comprehensive approach should be adopted towards all the problems and they should be considered with an open heart. In this way, it would be possible to eradicate the problems persisting between *Bharat* and Pakistan. This would lead to cordial relations between them. This would also lead to the starting of a process of the establishment of an Indo-Pak Federation in some form or the other.

"In their present distressed state of mind, the *Bharatiya* people should not lose sight of the basic and real principles of national life. The government of *Bharat* should itself protect or ensure the protection of the life and property of Hindus and other minorities living in Pakistan. The excuse that these minorities are citizens of Pakistan, is not only a lame excuse but is also fraught with danger, because if the government of *Bharat* neglects its duties towards the minorities living in Pakistan it would, without doubt, lead to widespread genocide in Pakistan and *Bharat*. If the government of *Bharat* lacks in the performance of its duty, the Hindus are naturally bound to be enraged.

"A government which cannot protect such rights of its citizens to live and a nation which cannot protect such rights of its neighbouring citizens are both barbarian. It is our sacred tradition to protect the freedom and security of all citizens.

"We wish to assure every Muslim citizen of *Bharat* in this regard. It is our first and our national duty to take this message to every *Hindu* family that every one of them shall conduct himself or herself in accordance with this assurance and it is our desire that this feeling should spread all around."

(Ref: '*Bharat* Vibhajan Ke Apradh', Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Pages 135-136, Prestige Prakashan)

National Unity and Muslims

Even before this, Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee had clearly stated the views of *Jana Sangh* in this regard in a meeting of Council for National Integration held on 19th December, 1961. He had said, "It has to be stated with regret that in the ongoing experiment for the development of nationalism, a substantial cooperation of the Muslims is not forthcoming. All their attempts were on the basis of the supposition that politics and religion were the same. This distortion has arisen in them because of their past identification with the foreign power. Religion had nothing to do with it. They tried to adopt a different style of living, different traditions and customs simply with a view to proving that they were different from *Bharatiya* Society and by so doing they isolated themselves from the society rooted in the soil here. They were not prepared to acknowledge Rama and Krishna as their forefathers and they even refuse to observe and participate in the festivals which were in no way related to religion.

"Muslims and Christians have not come here from any other land. Their forefathers were none other than Hindus. Nationality does not change with a change in religion; even culture remains unchanged. Treating Muslims and Christians as minorities would lead to partition, based on religion, in the political, economic and social life also. This would amount to indirectly recognising a two-nation or multi-nation theory. Actually, national integration consists in giving up narrow loyalties and replacing them by faith in nationalism. For this, an attempt shall have to be made to root out narrow loyalties from the minds of the people."

In 1956, in an interview on the subject '*Jana Sangh* and Muslims', Shri Vajpayee had said, "A person who devotedly accepts Islam or Christianity as being the path of liberation should be given the freedom of acting according to his discretion. Muslims born and brought up in *Bharat* are the sons and daughters of this country. Congress has tried to bribe them for becoming nationalists. In this game, they have surpassed even the British. While the British conferred on them an independent State, the Congress agreed to give them 50 per cent positions when they were only 30% in number. If another partition of *Bharat* is to be avoided, there should be an end to the politics of Muslim appeasement."

(Organiser-Deepawali Special Issue, 1956)

Merger of Kashmir

Sheikh Abdullah, who enjoyed a special position and had personal and intimate relations with Nehruji, was misusing the same in an attempt to keep Kashmir independent and to secure for it a special status in the *Bharatiya* Union of States. *Jana Sangh* had offered its support to the movement launched by Jammu Praja Parishad. It even organised a *Satyagraha* in support thereof. In this *Satyagraha* Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji lost his life. *Jana Sangh* exposed the anti-*Bharat* activities of Sheikh Abdullah. *Jana Sangh* was the only party which demanded and agitated for the deletion of Article 370 of the Constitution. *Jana Sangh* celebrated 'Kashmir Day' on 29th June, 1952. It tried to bring about people's awakening on the Kashmir question and disseminate full information on the question.

It was contended that since Kashmir is an in-separable constituent of *Bharat*, article 370, which provides for a special status for it in the Constitution, should be deleted. Then only, Kashmir will be able to join the national and political main-stream of *Bharat*. Kashmir Government was trying to maintain its separate identity. This separatism was the root cause of anti-*Bharat* tendency prevailing in Kashmir. Hence, deletion of article 370 was absolutely necessary. Ever since 1952, *Jana Sangh* was continuously demanding the total merger of Kashmir. *Jana Sangh* constantly and in a determined manner, raised the point in *Bharatiya* politics that politics in Kashmir was not the monopoly of Sheikh Abdullah nor was it the personal property of Nehru. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherji became a martyr on this issue. This martyrdom is a symbol of *Bharatiya* democracy and national unity.

The Assam Problem

It was *Jana Sangh* which brought to light in *Bharatiya* politics, the disturbed situation prevailing in Assam. In 1961 the session of the Assam provincial unit of *Jana Sangh* was held under the presidentship of Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari. In this session a resolution demanding the stoppage of the continuing infiltration of Pakistanis was passed. Assam has 22 lakh tribals out of which 9 lakhs live in hill areas.

The idea of a hill State in Assam had been supported by the British and, in this way, they had encouraged separatism in a planned manner. This separatist movement could not be uprooted without excluding foreign missionaries from Assam. In brief, *Jana Sangh* consistently placed before the people the twin problems of infiltration by Pakistanis and the separatist movement generated by Christian missionaries and the danger they posed to Assam. From the very beginning the main feature of the nationalist politics of *Jana Sangh* was its insistence on uprooting political movements and tendencies which obstructed the unity of the nation.

Hindu-Muslim Communal Riots

It seems that the Congress Government never tried to properly understand the role of *Jana Sangh* in the context of the *Hindu*-Muslim question. The Congress had also no desire to understand *Hindu*ism. It considers it a sin to be a *Hindu* and even a greater sin to propagate *Hindu*ism as a political concept.Hence, it has been the policy of the Congress Government to put the blame on RSS and *Jana Sangh* every time a *Hindu*-Muslim riot broke out. However, *Jana Sangh* has clearly stated its stand on this issue many a time. The resolution passed by *Jana Sangh* at the Gauhati session on 19th June, 1963 is more explicit. It was stated therein that "The evil seed of communalism was sown before Independence. Before Independence, it was argued that the British power was behind this evil. Since then, the phrase "Communal triangle" has been in use. As a result, it was expected that, after partition, communal riots would cease; however, it has proved to be a shallow and vain hope. This only underlines the great need to analyse the causative factor of this problem from a historical point of view."

Bharatiya *Jana Sangh* had appointed a committee of its own to analyse the cause of riots. The committee found that "Very often the immediate cause (or excuse) of such riots is insignificant, but there is a long preparation behind it. Within a short time the riots spread to cities far apart from each other such as Shrinagar, Karimganj, Allahabad, Aurangabad etc. This only means that forces that trigger the riots are already present in those places and they are only waiting for an excuse. Political parties of every political ideology have played the dangerous game of encouraging communal riots to serve their own party interests and of throwing the blame of such riots on others. The real interest of the Political parties lies in stopping this game. National unity is a valuable concept and it should not be sacrificed at the altar of politics." *Jana Sangh* had made constructive and important suggestions to reduce the incidence of communal riots.

These included measures to arrest all those who created a crisis in the law and order situation and to prevent political leaders from interfering in such matters. *Jana Sangh* had also suggested introduction of educational measures to reduce the incidences of *Hindu*-Muslim riots and it was suggested to keep in mind the possibility of there being a foreign hand behind the riots.

Language as a Medium of National Integration

Jana Sangh also took up the question of political activities in *Bharat* from the point view of National Integration. Speaking on this subject, in the National Integration Council in September 1961, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee had supported Hindi as National Language, as also regional languages and Sanskrit. Deendayalji had also explained the language policy of *Jana Sangh* in detail in an article published in May, 1967.

He had suggested that the dual policy and double standard adopted in favour of English should be abandoned and a 'three language formula' should be put in practice on a priority basis. He had further stated, "In my view, in every respect the three language policy is the most useful policy. It is not necessary that all the three languages should have the same status. The mother-tongue should be given the highest status.

"Education upto the secondary stage should be through the medium of mother tongue. In a multi-lingual country like India it is necessary for every student to know at least two languages. Obviously, if the *Bharatiya* languages adopt the Devanagari script then it would not be difficult to learn the regional languages. Arrangements should be made for learning English as a foreign language. English is extensively learnt in countries like Russia, Japan and Germany also. But these countries have not become slaves of English, nor have they adopted it as languages of administration. In these countries English is not being used as a medium of education even in trade, industry etc. If we remove English from these fields of activity then it would be an achievement. As long as English is the language of administration, students will continue to learn it. However, if it is replaced by a regional language as the language of administration, then the students would prefer to learn the same."

(Organiser, 28th May, 1967)

In substance, it may be said that from the very beginning. *Jana Sangh* was devoted to national integration. *Jana Sangh* also firmly asserted that culture is the foundation of national integration. The political, social and economic problems were also looked upon by *Jana Sangh* consistently from the same point of view of national integration. The core of the entire thinking of Deendayalji is nationalism and commitment to culture. This was the point of view which he imparted on *Jana Sangh*. This philosophy of Deendayalji has become an abiding source of reference in *Bharatiya* politics.

The Basic Principles of Nationalist Economy

In the beginning we had classified the problems of independent *Bharat* into five categories. One of these was the problem of reconstruction. Social and political reconstruction was also necessary. There are certain economic questions relating to the entire land of *Bharat*. It has an independent economy of its own. It was Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade who created a consciousness about it in the 19th century. The poverty of *Bharat* and the economic exploitation being carried on under British imperialism were the two economic realities which had a bearing on the concept of economic nationalism. Gandhiji promoted the concept of Khadi, village industries and village uplift and in this way provided a *Bharatiya* basis for economic nationalism. But in the course of the economic reconstruction, it was necessary to take into account modern science, modern technology and modern techniques and the use of modern implements. Nehruji tried to bring about coordination between *Bharatiya* and global economy by starting an era of economic planning in *Bharat*. But while doing this, he kept only the American and Russian patterns before himself. Consequently, far from poverty in *Bharat* getting reduced, a new class of internal exploiters came into existence. Millions of people were pushed below the poverty line with the result that economic disparities grew in spite of there being increased production. The parties having communist or socialist ideology did not pay any attention to these basic evils because the concept, that socialism means nationalisation of the means of production, had taken deep root in their thinking. Pt. Nehru, as also the leftist parties, had forgotten the economic principles of Gandhiji and the realities and needs of *Bharatiya* economic situation implied therein. Consequently, we had a situation in our country in which the blind were following the blind. Dr. Lohia advocated the concept of 'small machine' and in this way tried to give a new direction to the economic thinking of Gandhiji.

Deendayalji tried to place before *Bharat*, the fivefold concepts of *Swadeshi*, decentralisation, joint consideration of defence and development, freedom from foreign debts and economic self-reliance. It was Deendayalji who presented to *Bharat* the national ideology of economic reconstruction, which incorporates in itself the fundamental and abiding principles of *Bharatiya* economic system.

Deendayalji believed that political parties are the medium and instruments of social change. Consequently, he regarded *Jana Sangh* as an instrument and medium of change. Out of a political necessity, *Jana Sangh* was merged into the Janata Party in 1977. Even so, the political, social and economic concepts conceived by him should be considered to be of perennial importance and should ever be supported.

Clean and People-oriented Administration

Spotless behaviour and efficiency in administration are as important as are chastity of conduct and modesty in a woman's character. After independence, it was natural for the people to expect that administration in *Bharat* would be based on *Dharma-Rajya* or Rama-*Rajya*. *Jana Sangh* had highlighted the importance of a clean and efficient administration. No other party did any original thinking about the reorganization of administration. In the eight session of the party held on 25th January, 1966, *Jana Sangh* passed a resolution which stated that "the politics of the ruling party is at the root of corruption prevailing in the country." It was also stated that "according to the belief of *Jana Sangh*, national unity, democracy and efficient administration are pillars of political progress." (*Bharatiya Jana Sangh* - Declaration and Resolutions P. 165). Just as a permanent arrangement is needed for keeping the water clean, in the same way there should be a regular arrangement to keep the administration clean. There is no certainty that even when the ruling party is changed, it would be possible to have a clean administration because, after all, administration is carried on by humans who are susceptible to corruption. Therefore, cleansing the administration should be a continuing process. Considered from this angle, cleanness of administration, efficiency and its pro-people orientation are the basic qualities of an administration, whatever be the system on which it is based.

Code of Conduct in Democracy

Democracy is a way of life and is not merely a system of governance. It is based on a social concept and a social commitment. Although *Bharat* has adopted democracy, it was an adoption only in form.

When democracy was ushered into the country, the people were not committed to society. The result was that democracy at once became a tool in the hands of communalism and individualism prevailing in the society. As the power was transferred to the Congress Party, it was usurped by the organised selfish groups. Power had no social objective. It is for this reason that Deendayalji had said in the very beginning that *Jana Sangh* should become a party of the common people. He used to criticise *Bharatiya* politics on the count that instead of being committed to the society it had commitment for individuals. Deendayalji's only message to *Jana Sangh* was that it should consider the common man to be its object of worship. It was his assertion that by so doing, political parties would become the medium of public service and change instead of being the medium of acquiring power. This is because the goal which Deendayalji had before him was to develop a political culture different from the power-oriented culture of the Congress Party. He was of the view that political parties, instead of competing with one another in the race of power, should be competitors in public service. In brief, the political objective of Deendayalji was that *Jana Sangh* should completely change the existing individualistic and power-oriented character of politics and give it a new direction which should be nationalistic and people-oriented. According to him, it was only in this way that politics could become value-based.

So Deendayalji proposed a code of conduct for political parties because he believed that the existing nature of party politics could change only when political parties became the tools of public service and social reconstruction. Political parties were being gradually converted into political communities which was not relished by Deendayalji. He used to say that political communalism leads to political untouchability. He demonstrated the desirability of political parties having independent thinking, being disciplined, pro-people and goal-oriented by organising *Jana Sangh* as a model. He did not merely write a desertation on democracy but also organised an ideal political party based on democracy. Gandhiji had suggested the dissolution of Congress and its conversion into 'Lok Sevak Sangh' - an organization for the service of the people. But far from being dissolved, it became a party of power-hungry people. Deendayalji did not let *Jana Sangh* to become a power-oriented party but rather shaped it as a people-oriented party.

Bharatiya Character of Democracy

Deendayalji's political beliefs were mainly based on his faith in democracy and nationalism. He did not accept the purely Western interpretation of these two concepts and tried to give them *Bharatiya* content because the essence of his life's philosophy was, 'be a *Bharatiya* and serve *Bharat*'.

Consequently, on the adoption of parliamentary democracy in *Bharat*, Deendayalji refused to organise political life in *Bharat* with a political party symbolising and propagating Western thought. Rather, he kept before himself the objective of organising *Jana Sangh* as a purely *Bharatiya* political party, dedicated to *Bharatiya* ideals and committed to a reconstruction based on *Bharatiya* values of life. Through this party, Deendayalji wished to place before the people a purely *Bharatiya* variety of democracy.

In pursuance of his objective, Deendayalji tried to develop friendly relations with other political parties. For this he introduced a number of innovations, suggested some others and tried to popularise a wholly new set of concepts. For example, when Pandit Nehru became the Congress President, Deendayalji wrote to him suggesting that every party should follow the practice of inviting members of other political parties, as observers, to attend the sessions held by it. Every party should have a code of conduct for itself based on its ideology and programme. In the general elections, only the national problems should be highlighted and every party should place before the people its own solutions to such problems. In the democratic set up, during the period intervening such elections, the democratic methods of placing people's grievances before the government through petitions etc. should be made more effective. If there is an agitation on some issue, the government should hold talks with the agitators. Agitations too, should follow a code of conduct wherein violence should be avoided. The demonstration organised by Deendayalji in Delhi to oppose the Kutch Agreement was an example of his concept of disciplined opposition. He was of the opinion and he insisted on it, that while collecting funds for the election the workers should go to every constituency. He also held the view that the party organisation and the party workers should be given a more dignified status in the political set up. In this manner, Deendayalji tried to give an independent shape of its own to the *Bharatiya* political set up with his efforts and suggestions through the *Jana Sangh* Party. These efforts are worth continuing even today. Deendayalji's image of an opposition leader with a constructive democratic approach and his indigenous concept of *Bharatiya* democracy are worthy of emulation even today.

Independent Foreign Policy

Deendayalji used to say that *Bharat* should tread an independent path in every field. While he pleaded for an indigenous concept of economic planning, he also insisted on our having an independent foreign policy. He was pro-*Bharat* not only vis-a-vis Pakistan but also vis-a-vis America and Russia, the two super powers. An effort was being made to make it appear as if *Jana Sangh* was more inclined towards America. No doubt, there were some people in *Jana Sangh* who were for adopting a softer line towards USA considering the fact that it is a democratic country. However, Deendayalji had made the Party's position clear in this regard by saying, "America is more interested in increasing its sphere of influence in the world than in protecting democracy in *Bharat*. Hence, it shall ever strive not to let *Bharat* emerge as a great power."

(Pt Deendayal Upadhyaya: Vyakti Darshan-Article by Jagadish Prasad Mathur)

When Tibet was attacked by China, Deendayalji advocated the cause of Tibetan freedom. He had then said, "A free Tibet is essential for peace in Asia. Those who think that we should adopt a soft line on this issue do not want two nations to have cordial relations as equals. They, rather, want *Bharat* to be subservient to the communists. Such a thought is treason." (Organiser, 25th May, 1959)

Speaking on this issue, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee said in Lok Sabha, "We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of China. But we are clearly of the view that the demand for Tibet's freedom is not an internal affair of China-I represent a small party - but we wholly support the freedom of Tibet." (Organiser, 25th May, 1959). *Jana Sangh* was a small party at that time. Even so, it was recognised in political circles for its highly nationalist approach as it always tried to view the foreign policy from the nationalist angle. There is no doubt that *Jana Sangh* had achieved an independent position for itself in *Bharatiya* politics on the basis of its non-aligned nationalist approach.

Removal of anti-*Hindu* prejudices

The two special features of Nehru's policies were appeasement of the Muslims of *Bharat* and a soft attitude towards

Pakistan to the extent of providing sustenance to Muslim communalism. The rulers of independent *Bharat* did not give a rightful place to *Hindu* thought, *Hindu* interests and *Hindu* Culture in this country of *Hindu* majority. On the contrary, they always made fun and still do, of *Hindu* thought and the *Hindu* way of life. Gandhiji used to call himself a Sanatani *Hindu* and yet no one had the courage to brand him as a communal person. This 'secularism' of the Congress Party affected the politics of *Bharat* in its own way.

A kind of political hatred was generated for the word '*Hindu*'. As a great many workers of *Jana Sangh* belonged to the RSS lineage of thought, they too had to fight against this anti-*Hindu* prejudice and untouchability. To some extent, *Jana Sangh* did succeed in this fight. Even though the 'secular' political analysts of those days belonging to *Bharat* and to the Western countries called *Jana Sangh* a '*Hindu* nationalist party', yet only its nationalist image had begun to be recognised. Deendayalji never severed his relations with RSS. (He died on 11th February, 1968. His last theoretical discourse in RSS was held on 4th February, 1968 at Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh.) It was because of *Jana Sangh* that the anti-*Hindu* policy of the congress was brought under check. Deendayalji had established that disregard of *Hindu* interests in the politics of *Bharat* would not pay and only the *Hindu* thought could form the basis of an over all reconstruction.

A Disciplined Party, a Disciplined Nation

The most important point to be remembered for making democracy a success in *Bharat* is that only a disciplined party can infuse discipline in a nation. When Deendayalji visited Andhra in 1957 on an election tour, the *Jana Sangh* workers informed him that the Congress Party was trying to raise the limit of the minimum number of votes required for recognition as a national party with a view to keeping *Jana Sangh* out of parliamentary politics."We should oppose this move", the workers said to him. Deendayalji calmly told them, "We shall not oppose the move. Rather, we shall show to the Congress Party that we can get as many votes as are required under the raised limit and in this way we shall get our party recognised as a national party." The workers then asked him, "The Congress has entered into an agreement with the Muslim League. Why should we not do the same?" Deendyalji's reply to this was, "We shall not bargain for votes like the Congress Party. Congress has encouraged differences between the Muslims and Hindus for political gains. Definitely, we are not communal. It is the Congress which is communal. We have no differences with non-Hindus provided they are nationalists. We should encourage nationalist feelings amongst the Muslims and should befriend them. But we shall not do this merely to get some votes. Whatever happens, we shall not eschew our discipline. We shall prove wrong the concept that all is fair in politics. *Jana Sangh* has entered politics only to prove that one can be disciplined even in politics." (Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya: A profile, P. 126).

The above remarks of Deendayalji demonstrate the amount of self-control exercised by him to observe discipline in politics. *Jana Sangh* had come to be known as a party of workers for the reason that it did not have the categories of leaders and followers amongst its ranks. Rather, it was a party in which all had a common goal and all belonged to the single category of servants of the Nation. In this way *Jana Sangh* had changed the equation, typical of the Congress politics, according to which high handedness and goondaism were synonyms of democracy. *Jana Sangh* was instrumental in giving to the political worker, a position of respect and responsibility within the party set up. It was only as a result of this that value-based politics was no longer a dream but became a practical proposition. *Jana Sangh* had to face a lot of political criticism but, in spite of all that, *Jana Sangh* was able to prove that in politics one could be civilised, decent and true to one's commitment. In *Jana Sangh*, the people could discern the qualitative aspect of *Bharatiya* politics. Deendayalji was the architect of this new qualitative tradition. Truly speaking, it was *Jana Sangh* which put into practice a politics based on *Bharatiya* philosophy, commitment to the cause of *Bharat*, commitment to certain values and honesty towards the common man and Deendayalji was the source of inspiration for all this. After the death of Deendayalji, his close friend and co-worker, Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari, had aptly said, "It is literally true that Dr. Mookherji was the creator of *Jana Sangh* and Deendayalji was the one who instilled life into it."

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The Legacy of Deendayalji

The aim of Deendayalji's political life was to present the ancient culture of *Bharat* in its modern form in the politics of the country. But he was suddenly snatched away by the hands of fate. After his death Shri Guruji went to pay homage to his mortal remains when his body was kept on the ground for a last glimpse before being transferred to the aircraft for being brought to Delhi. After the body was taken aboard, Guruji could not check himself and he again went for the last glimpse inside the aircraft where he lost his self-control and said, "I have lost everything." (Reminiscences narrated by Shri Jagadish Parsad Mathur, Office Secretary of *Jana Sangh*). These words of Shri Guruji expressed the grief of a man of steady wisdom. The words also expressed the grief of thousands of workers of *Jana Sangh* at the cruel assassination of Deendayalji. However, in his condolence message Guruji had said, "The tradition founded by the *Sangh* will create many more jewels among men who would carry forward the legacy of Deendayalji."

What was this legacy of Deendayalji and what was meant by carrying that legacy forward? Generally, people take recourse to all kinds of deceipt and hatch conspiracies for the sake of gaining political succession. In the case of Deendayalji, however, the legacy left behind by him for succession was one of unblemished conduct and of politics based on principles and a new political culture. We must think how far we can make use of the philosophy and outlook of Deendayalji for bringing about a change in the present political scene in *Bharat* and in solving the problems that still remain unsolved. Secondly, we must also know, what are the unresolved problems of *Bharat* and how can we make use of Deendayalji's political thinking and his personality in solving such problems. Thirdly, we must also decide, what our own priorities are in this regard.

Foundation of National Unity

Bharat is not a newly emerged nation. The present day *Bharat* is only the manifestation of a *Bharat* that was founded on an ancient culture. This is the basic concept of the *Sangh* family, as a member of which Deendayalji entered politics. Even today, our nation is beset with confrontations, tensions and separatist tendencies, which are hurdles in our national life. Everyday, many incidents detrimental to the concept of 'one country, one people, one culture' are taking place. Thinking people, are wondering, in what direction our *Bharat* is going. People of *Bharat* are unnerved like those caught in an earthquake. In such a situation, the only foundation of our national unity can be the concept which propounds that our society has its roots in a common cultural tradition and we are one country and one nation. The only way to infuse the nation with self-confidence is by launching a cultural movement to make the people conscious of this concept.

However, *Bharatiya* society has come to be divided because of the national, economic and social policies followed during the last 41 years which have been formulated in disregard of our true character. Along with prosperity, poverty has also increased. Economic disparities have grown. In no other country, contradictions and disparities are felt as marked as in *Bharat*. The five star cultures side by side with slum-culture have created a disparity which has acquired fearful dimensions. This culture has deadened our social sensitivity. Deendayalji was a leader who possessed this sensitivity and who was constantly engaged in thinking about the reconstruction of *Bharat*.

Only an economic philosophy or a material concept of prosperity is not enough, in the present day social life, to sharpen our feeling of social sensitivity. We must develop a social sense of compassion so as to feel, "Our people are going down under and we cannot bear to see their plight".

It was for this reason that Deendayalji opposed the concept that man is an economic animal, on the basis of which communism deprives the individual of his right to freedom and Deendayalji propounded the theory of an economic order based on Integral Humanism. While the right to vote for every individual symbolises political democracy, the right to work and proper wages for every individual is the corner stone of economic democracy. This is the essence of Deendayalji's economic philosophy.

Dharma-Rajya : Need of the hour

Social morality has disappeared from our country, political morality is nowhere to be seen and constitutional morality is also being eroded. Politics is nothing but a game of power. Now only A*dharma* is the *Dharma* of our times. In such a situation, economic prosperity will only prove to be a curse. Deendayalji had once said, "Lanka could have bricks of gold but it would not have Ram *Rajya*." Deendayalji wanted the establishment of *Dharma Rajya*. *Dharma Rajya* only means a virtuous rule. According to the ancient tradition of *Bharat*, politics should be controlled by a virtuous policy. Without the reastablishment of such a *Dharma*, the society will not be happy and free form fear. According to the *Hindu* tradition, *Dharma* does not denote a religion or a sect but something which holds the society together. The basic concept of *Dharma* is eternal and unchangeable as it is a concept embodying moral conduct. We cannot have a happy and contented life in *Bharat* unless we have the rule of such moral values.

Need of Unbiased Leadership

The problems of *Bharat* are not merely political, social, economic or cultural but of establishing in our society those values of life which can solve these problems. The main question faced by us today is that of identifying such values. These values help in maintaing a proper social balance as our blood pressure does in our own bodies. Today the internal balance has been upset which has resulted in all-round disturbance. The society seems to be going astray. Political violence has been increasing. The honour of women is unsafe. The seats of learning, which are considered sacred, have become shops in the market. The root cause of all this is political corruption. Therefore, unless we bring about a qualitative change in politics, we shall not be able to have a good government run by good people. In order to achieve this, we shall have to evolve a leadership which is unbiased and which is not wedded to power. Deendayalji was the ideal of such a leadership. 'The King is the master of the State which he does not enjoy for himself - this is the principle which is true for all times. Today, we need leaders who do not serve their self-interest and who, rather, serve others with a sense of thankfulness. It is, no doubt, true that we cannot have an abundance of such leaders who are saints, as it were. However, even if they are small in number, they would be able to exercise a healthy influence. Just as our heart, though small in size, keeps our body healthy by purifying our blood, in the same way a leadership, not wedded to power, could help in cleansing our public life. This is the legacy of Deendayalji which, though difficult to preserve, needs te be carried forward.

Code of Conduct in Democracy

Bharatiya democracy has been constitutionalised in the form of Parliament, Legislative Assemblies, Zila Panchayats and Village Panchayats But a study of the working, constitution and usefulness of these institutions during the last 38 years leads us to two conclusions. Firstly, the entire power-structure has been harnessed to the task of serving caste and communal interests and for the personal gains of caste leaders. Secondly, under such a power-structure we are building a society which is torn with dissensions and selfishness instead of evolving a *Bharatiya* society which is united and harmonious as a single entity. Consequently, democracy has been reduced to a race for power among the power-groups and our politics is principled only in name and in reality it is nothing but power-oriented opportunism. It is a distorted form of democracy devoid of values. We shall have to make our politics mass-oriented by applying the yard-stick of Deendayalji who used to say, "Only the common man should be made the god of democracy." Our Constitution starts with the Preamble - "We, the people of India" and goes on to say that we 'give to ourselves this Constitution'. In other words, we have framed this Constitution on which to base our own conduct. Hence, the Constitution, the power-structure envisaged therein, an administration committed to the implementation thereof and the political parties born with the objective of ensuring that such an administration will only work for serving people's interest, all these are meant for the people. *Bharatiya* democracy can become truly democratic only when we constantly keep ourselves conscious of this fact, or else, it would be reduced to a power-system, with a facade of elections, captive in the hands of power-hungry groups.

Speaking on the relations between political parties and the people, Deendayalji had stated, "If you are democrats, you should follow the dictates of your own discretion rather than accept any other authority. Political parties are constituted to function as representatives of the people. Their only base is the power of the people. It is the people who confer on them the capability to function; it is the people who create them and, through them, shape their own future. Therefore, a political party is not merely a conglomeration of power-hungry people. It is, rarher, a unified entity and a disciplined organisation of goal-oriented and committed people working for a specific ideology." Deendayalji's views about the code of conduct to be followed in democracy are so original that they can be the guiding principles of any political party whether of the present or of the future.

Politics for the Nation's Sake

Bharatiya Politics should not only have its roots in the people, it should also be nationalist in character. Nationalism should be the ultimate goal of politics. The cooperation extended to the government by *Jana Sangh* in 1962, in the war against China and in 1965, in the war against Pakistan, was a typical example of being patriotic and rising above party-politics. It was through his own conduct that Deendayalji laid down the principle that national interest is always far above party-interest. Just as an individual is not supposed to sacrifice the national interest for the sake of his personal interest, so is a party supposed not to serve its own interest to the detriment of national interest. As such, according to Deendayalji, the focal point of politics was the nation. His guiding principle was that all policies of national governance should be formulated with a view to serving the national interest. It is for this reason that all his thinking was rooted in nationalism.

Swadeshi and Decentralisation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh came into existence after independence. Even so, it had adopted four guiding principles of the freedom movement as its own articles of faith. The four principles and objectives are : unified nationalism, democracy, social strength and *Swadeshi*. These four objectives are the enduring principles of *Bharatiya* national life. Deendayalji's thinking encompasses these four-fold objectives. He once said, "The economic policy suitable for the present situation can be described in two words, *Swadeshi* and decentralisation.

Today, *Swadeshi* seems to have become an out of date and retrograde concept. We accept foreign aid with a great sense of pride. We are making use of foreign help in our conceptions in the field of management, in procuring capital investment and in the field of production. Even our ideal of consumption of consumer goods is based on the foreign pattern. This can never be the path of progress and development for us. It is a slavish tendency which ignores our own entity and to which we are becoming slaves. To be honest, the constructive aspect of the concept of *Swadeshi* should alone form the basis of our economic policy."

Today, socialism has come to be another name of all-devouring statism. Poverty eradication programmes achieve nothing except carrying the burden of the administration, in such a situation, the freedom, the honour of the individual and democracy can be protected only through Panchayat Raj and decentralised economy. An economic policy which multiplies our needs is of no use to a country like *Bharat*. Likewise, a centralised system of administration will not serve our purpose. The political legacy of Deendayalji is enshrined in these two concepts. *Bharat*, today is facing the danger of its democratic set up becoming a prisoner in the hands of the armed forces or some selfish political groups. In such a situation, the only way to save democracy is to mobilise public opinion on the basis of these two concepts and generate people's power to face this danger.

Transitional Politics

Today, *Bharat* is faced with the question, what is to be done to avoid the possibility of democracy getting converted into mobocracy? What we have today in our country is a fight between authoritarianism of power and enlightened democracy based on certain principles. In this fight, public opinion shall have to play a decisive role and classical democracy shall have to pass through an acid test. For this, it is necessary to have a coalition government and follow the policy enunciated by Deendayalji in this regard. This policy was based on two principles. According to the first, practice of political untouchability must be given up and the policy of limited cooperation should be followed. Secondly, after the Congress is removed from power by the people, nothing should be done which might result in the power coming back into the hands of Congress from the government of the non-Congress parties as doing this would be treachery against the people. For this, it would be necessary for the non-Congress parties to draw up programmes in people's interest which would be acceptable to all and to form a government which would implement them. Mere opposition of the Congress Party cannot constitute a constructive political ideology. No doubt, the unity of the nationalist democratic non-Congress Parties is necessary for keeping the Congress out of power, but their coming together should be programme-based. A coalition government would be more durable than a joint front. In India, the age of coalition governments is coming.

In such a situation, it is the moral and political duly of non-Congress parties to set up a competent and clean government which is committed to honouring public opinion and to a minimum programme based on the interest of the people and of the nation. In 1977, the transition did take place; but the political leaders forgot their duty in that period of transition. They entangled themselves in controversies between the constituent of the coalition and continued to quarrel among themselves on questions of prestige and position. If they want history not to repeat itself, the opposition parties should never forget that power comes to them through the votes of the people.

The importance of votes in a democracy, as outlined by Deendayalji, should be our guiding principle. According to him, "The vote is a mandate for the translation of the hopes and aspirations of the people into action." This is the basic principle of democracy.

On the Turning Point of History

Indian history is still passing through a period of transition. The present generation has to evaluate all the experience of Swa*rajya* and reconstruction, of the mistakes committed by us, of the crises faced by us, of the social tensions that have been generated and of the expectations fulfilled or unfulfilled by the political parties during the last 41 years. The goals of national reconstruction and methods to be adopted have to be determined.

During the 19th and the 20th centuries, the modern *Bharat* has been taking inspiration from Western thought, Western values and the success of the Western countries. We have tried to run our own rule (swa-*rajya*) after forgetting our own self (Swa). Now our nation is at a turning point. Spiritualism and science are not contradictory to each other. Human life can be made happier and safer only by synthesising the two. *Bharatiya* culture does not accept the proposition that spiritualism amounts to forsaking physical comforts. It is because of this misinterpretation that *Bharat* has tried to follow everything of the West where science has progressed. In so doing, we have not practised any discretion. Many of the present problems of *Bharat* are the result of blindly following the West.

Bharat has been making various social experiments ever since the period of the Indus valley civilisation culminating in the Sarvodaya concept of Gandhiji. Now there is need to organise the national life of modern *Bharat* on the concept of Integral Humanism and unified culture. Let us rise and carve our name on the rock of time. Undoubtedly, our society at large, our political parties and social and political workers will ever continue to be inspired by the political life, the transparent personality of Deendayalji and by the rich heritage of his political thinking.

Keep the *Virat* Alive

It is the dream of every patriotic person to see that *Bharat* makes all round progress. Deendayalji's personality was developed in the daily activity of the RSS *shakha* (branch) which begins with a prayer for the nation. He had dreamt of a conscious and organised *Bharat* which would bring about an awakening in the nation. He called such a society ' *Virat*'. The presence of life in our body brings about consciousness. In the same way an awakened *Virat* brings prosperity in national life.

As long as life-force is present in our body all the parts of the body are active and perform their respective functions. In the same way, if the *Virat* is awakened, the national life would run smoothly. Even those nations, which follow a single ideology, be it Communism, Islam, Christianity or Buddhism, manage to preserve their individuality. They even develop it. The *Bharatiya* nation is also one such nation which has preserved its individuality since ancient times. It has its own view of life, its own life-style and its own philosophy.

It is a unified entity. Deendayalji insisted on the desirability of the re-emergence of the individuality of the *Bharatiya* people. He provided an ideological concept for such an emergence which is known as Integral Humanist philosophy. The national emergence of *Bharat* is essential not only for *Bharat* but for the rest of humanity. Politics is the vehicle of such emergence. Only a healthy seed can produce a healthy plant and fruits that are sweet. Deendayalji has entrusted to the people of *Bharat* a healthy seed. Those of our wise people who carry his legacy, should preserve this pure seed undoubtedly, this seed will some day sprout and grow into maturity and produce fruits that are sweet.

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About the Author

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Shri B.K. Kelkar, who is a versatile journalist and author and Founder-Director of 'Maharashtra Parichaya Kendra', has written a lot for several journals including Navshakti, Vivek, Tarun *Bharat*. He has also authored several books like 'Subhash Charitra', 'Savarkar Darshan', 'Tilak Vichar', Samaj Sudharak Savarkar' etc. He was also responsible for the compilation and production of 'Gopal Krishna Gokhale Memorial volume', 'Samagra Tilak' and the 'Yashwant Rao Chavan Memorial volume.'

The manner, in which the political thinking of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya has been outlined and his political heritage to his followers successfully interpreted in this volume, is sufficient testimony to the fact that as an author Shri Kelkar is gifted with the quality of going to the root of the matter.

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Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya
IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

Much has been written about the life and work of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, who was a living example of simple living and high thinking .

But the scope and depth covered by Shri Thengadi, Shri Nene, Shri Bhishikar, Shri Kelkar, Shri Kulkarni, Shri Jog and Shri Deodhar to present effectively the manifold aspects of Shri Upadhyaya's basic thought– both, political and philosophical, is really very commendable.

The seven volumes on 'Ideology and Perception' of Shri Upadhyaya should be made a subject of reading, thinking and contemplation by every sociopolitical worker.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee

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